

THE GREAT PERSIAN WAR

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HISTORY
OF
THE GREAT PERSIAN WAR

FROM THE HISTORIES OF HERODOTUS

[Selections] app. xv.

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GRÆCIA BARBARIÆ LENTO COLLISA DUELLO

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PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.



IN THE PRESENT EDITION the critical examination of the history, which formed the Second Part of the former volume, has been omitted. The change has been made not from any wish to disavow conclusions to which in my belief historical critics must more and more be carried by an impartial scrutiny, but because the questions there treated belong rather to a History of Greece than to a volume which is designed to place before English readers the narrative of the Persian war, not as it may be regarded from any modern point of view but in the spirit and, as nearly as may be possible, in the language of Herodotus himself. That narrative in its singular simplicity must always possess a charm for old and young alike; but it was scarcely to be expected that the scholar

should look for a treatise on the general credibility of the Herodotean history to a volume which professed to tell the Tale of the Great War as it has come down to us in the traditions of an age just awakening to a historical sense.

The notes in the present edition relate only to questions of credibility on which it seemed scarcely honest to keep silence, or to points on which the information given might be necessary for the young. It is perhaps not to be wished that they should read the history in a spirit which instead of being critical may easily become captious; but it can scarcely be thought right that they should go through a narrative involving grave improbabilities, especially when these improbabilities closely touch the good names of great men, without the least consciousness that it is their duty to see whether the facts took place as they are related or whether they did not. The episodes of Demokêdês and Histiaios may present difficulties as great as any which may force themselves on our attention in the narrative of the two embassies of Sikinnos to Xerxes; but an examination of the latter is not only needed to vindicate the character of Themistokles, but is more likely to awaken the interest of readers who may take up the history for the first time.

The Appendix on the constitutions of Athens and Sparta is designed, like the notes, to point out the direction in which the reader may extend his enquiries in order to make himself more fully acquainted with the subject.

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.



THERE ARE FEW, perhaps, who, even in the first reading, have failed to perceive something of the beauty which pervades the histories of Herodotus, —few who have not felt the deep religious sentiment, the sympathy for unmerited suffering, the keen appreciation of all pure and lofty motives, the strict impartiality towards friend or foe, which pre-eminently characterise his writings. But there are probably still fewer in whom the first perusal has not left an impression of strange incoherence and incongruity. The mention of each fresh king, or city, or people leads into long and apparently arbitrary digressions; and a narrative of the struggle between Greece and Persia is introduced by an account of all the wars and battles of the world. His work assumes the

appearance of history within history, of legend within legend, until the existence of any connecting principle seems doubtful or impossible. Soon, however, the reader begins to perceive, first, that a distinct religious conviction underlies each personal history, and then that the same moral sentiment is found in every episode of personal adventure. The jealousy of the gods who will not suffer pride to go too long unchecked, or wealth and happiness too long unbroken,—the inevitable course of a destiny which bears sway over the majesty of Zeus himself,—the influence, sometimes kindly, sometimes malignant, which the gods exercise over men,—the retributive justice which visits the sins of the forefathers on their guiltless or devout posterity,—the reverent caution which refuses to call any man during this life happy,—all make up a body of religious belief which supplies not only a theological creed, but also a system of moral philosophy. And presently he will see that this religious sentiment is not confined to personal history. The national fortunes of Greeks and Lydians, Persians and Egyptians, exhibit the working of the same laws and teach the same religious lessons. If after this he cares to follow the track which opens before him, he will see that this moral or theo-

logical conviction has imparted to his history a strictly epical unity: he will see that from the beginning to the end there is a chain of cause and effect, quite distinct from that sequence of human and political motive which we are wont to regard as the mainspring of history. He will learn to trace the working of this moral power from the legends of Io or Eurôpê, through the tale of Troy and of the Lydian dynasties, to the punishment which Persian arrogance brought upon itself at Delphi and Salamis and Mykalê. And, last of all, he may perceive that such a conviction, so wide yet so penetrating, so comprehensive in its general survey, yet so careful of minute detail, can never have originated in the historian himself; that, to whatever extent the strength of his genius and the purity of his mind may have heightened his moral and religious sentiment, yet the impulse must have come from without; and that, in all essential features, the historian is but the representative of the age in which he lived.

He will thus see that the historical conception of the age (if it deserves the name) was pre-eminently religious; that it sought less for the truth of actual facts than for evidence of its theological convictions; and that a narrative which met this test underwent in other respects no careful and

rigorous scrutiny. The tale which proved the living jealousy of the gods, which spoke of vengeance taken on fraud or violence or overmuch prosperity, which asserted the visible interference of heavenly beings among the children of men, satisfied every condition of credibility. The story was believed if it told of marvellous sights and preternatural sounds on the earth or in the heavens: it was disbelieved if it gave no further explanation of personal or national fortunes than that which may be furnished by motives of human appetite or passion. Things beyond nature presented to that age nothing startling or strange; the absence of prodigies and wonders alone precluded the hearty acceptance of a story.

But the region of signs and portents and heavenly manifestations is also the region of poetry. The mingling of gods and men, of those men, at least, whose soul was in some way raised above the mere appetite of food and drink and sleep, is the groundwork of all epical poems, and in a special degree of the great epics of the Greek heroic ages. The mythical belief of those ages surrounded the people with an atmosphere of poetry. The bard may have surpassed his hearers in the strength of his sensations and his power of expressing them; the statesman and the general

may have had a keener appreciation of their grandeur and their loveliness: but, from the greatest to the meanest, the same religious faith, the same moral convictions, appealed to the deepest feelings of their heart, and guided at once their judgment and their actions.

At no time, perhaps, has there existed a condition of thought which could with greater truth receive the name of public opinion. It was a universal belief, not as enforced by some despotic power, but as the spontaneous expression of an all-pervading faith. It was a belief which needed neither proof nor argument, for no one was conscious of a single thought which questioned or denied it; and when the course of time gradually brought into life a new power, and men became conscious of another principle of causation than that which alone they had hitherto recognised, it was long before it was felt that the new principle had in it anything antagonistic to the former. The idea of a natural order, which was impressed on them by the interchange of times and seasons, suggested no thought of a similar order in the world of men. And even when the regulated operation of physical causes had conveyed to their minds some notions of probability or impossibility, the influence of this new knowledge was

very uncertain, and its application very capricious. Men could believe that Apollo quenched the fire that rose around his devout worshipper, while they would not believe that doves had spoken with human voices. They could affirm that deified heroes came back to mingle in human strife, when they would not believe that Herakles in his mortal state had slain thousands at a single blow.

It is this middle ground of unquestioning faith and an incipient historical criticism which is occupied by the great work of Herodotus. The beauty of the narrative may be his own; the poetical conception and religious sentiment he shared with the whole Hellenic family. This sentiment has moulded every part of his history, has guided him in the choice of his materials, has supplied the connecting link through the twisted chain of episodes and digressions. It has imparted a character to his language of which the peculiarity never breaks the charm, and in which a certain monotony never destroys the freshness. Such a history, it would seem, can scarcely be divested of its original form without weakening or destroying its vigour and beauty; and if presented in any other shape, it may to a greater or less degree satisfy the requirements of modern criticism, but it will not be the same history as it

rose before the mind of Herodotus. We may possibly arrive at the truth of facts by a careful analysis of its materials and sifting of its evidence; but it will no longer be the narrative whose beauty is said to have extorted the applause of thousands at the great Olympic games.

This narrative, whose exquisite beauty cannot be altogether veiled in the critical histories of our own time, has perhaps not yet been presented to English readers. There are many translations of Herodotus, but no translation can be free from some at least of the many defects which seem inseparable from the work of expressing literally in one language the thoughts and feelings of another. Phrases not without force and beauty in the original become heavy and cumbrous in the translation, while natural and expressive idioms pass into unmeaning and disagreeable verbiage. And if the long episodes and complicated digressions so interrupt the march of the narrative for the reader who studies it in the original language, there can, it would seem, be no necessity to introduce the same interruptions in another. The omission of those portions of the tale which do not belong immediately to the main subject of the history, will probably give a far more faithful and vivid idea of the original narrative.

It is not a question for historical criticism. Doubtless, the statements of the work are either credible or incredible, and we may reasonably attempt to determine the bounds and degrees of that credibility ; but no analysis of its contents and no examination of its evidence can lay before the reader the palpable form which has undergone this necessary dissection. The story, as conceived by Herodotus, can be told in no other way than his own. We may criticise and compare and draw inferences from the mythical legends of Greece or Rome or Scandinavia, but to realise them fully we must also read and tell them as they are. And while we read such narratives, we must remember that the poetical conception which they exhibit is not confined to the writer, and that all terms of praise or dispraise grounded on his poetical, or fanciful, or credulous tendencies, or his love of exaggeration and contrast, are equally erroneous. He cannot be accused of personal credulity, if his faith is but the reflection of the universal belief of his age ; he cannot be charged with equivocation or falsehood, if he only remains true to the ordinary convictions of his countrymen.

This narrative, certainly one of the most beautiful that mortal hand has written down, has been examined with admirable power and judgment

by the great critical historians of the present century. The religious sentiment, the human and supernatural sequence of events, with every episode and every incident, have been minutely analysed ; but even in the pages of writers whom it would be presumptuous to praise, the reader will fail to find the history of Herodotus as it appears in his own pages. It is impossible that he should so find it ; and the want may furnish some justification for the present attempt to clothe in an English dress, and without the restraints imposed on a professed translation, a narrative rich with all the wealth of Homeric imagery and never perhaps surpassed in the majesty of epical conception.



NOTE

ON THE

ORTHOGRAPHY OF GREEK NAMES.



THERE ARE FEW, probably, who still think that for the names of Greek gods and heroes should be substituted certain Latin names with which, for the most part, they have no connection either of sound or of idea. The system of adhering to the Greek names of deities had been long since adopted by Dr. Thirlwall and other writers, when Mr. Grote endeavoured in his *History of Greece* to bring the English spelling of all Greek names into a more strict agreement with the original. In his work on *Homer and the Homeric Age*, Mr. Gladstone retained not merely the Latin forms for ordinary names, but once more placed Jupiter, Mars, and Minerva on the thrones of Zeus, Arês, and Athênê. Of the reasons which led him to this determination Mr. Gladstone said nothing; but Mr. Rawlinson, who in his translation of *Herodotus* has followed his example, thinks that ‘in a work intended for general reading, unfamiliar forms were to be eschewed, and that accuracy in such matters, although perhaps more scholarlike, would be dearly purchased at the expense of harshness and repulsiveness.’

It is not easy to determine with any precision what may be familiar or unfamiliar forms in the world of letters. They must necessarily vary in successive generations, or perhaps during the same generation. Yet, probably, the use of the Greek forms in translating the great epic and tragic poets is as familiar now to the boys of our public schools, as was the practice of calling Hêrê Juno, and Dêmêtêr Ceres, some twenty or five-and-twenty years ago. At the least, it is a use which every year is becoming more general and more familiar; and when once the scholar has accustomed himself to adopt the Greek forms in English translation, nothing will more grate upon his ear than to hear Poseidon called Neptune, or more offend his eye than to see 'Diana' written where he looks to find 'Artemis.' It may safely be maintained that to the readers of Homer or Herodotus generally the Greek forms are quite as familiar as the Latin, and that the objections which may here and there be raised are fast growing weaker and will soon be abandoned.

'Harshness' and 'repulsiveness,' again, are qualities which in some measure are matters of taste; yet we might be tempted to think that the terms apply far more forcibly to the Latin nomenclature than to the Greek. The former is undoubtedly good in its place; but by the side of the euphonious names of Hellas those of some at least among Latin gods and heroes may well be thought harsh and ugly, and it needs a very long practice to make their sound agreeable, although it may be familiar.

But a more serious objection to the use of the Latin forms is the confusion of ideas which it must cause in

any subjects closely connected with Greek mythology. It is of less consequence to talk of Mars, Ceres, or Bacchus in Thucydides, for Arês, Dêmêtêr, and Dionysos do not much figure in his pages; but the system as applied to Homer not only introduces innumerable blemishes to offend the eye, but places side by side words which convey notions entirely contradictory. The same page will contain the names of Mars and Askalaphos, Ialmenos and Vesta, Podaleirios and Mercury, names of which the one may be said to belong wholly to Latin, the other wholly to Greek mythology.

In the present edition an effort has been made to assimilate the spelling of proper names as nearly as possible to the Greek, in all instances except in names which were foreign words to the Greeks themselves (as Cræsus, Cyrus, Cambyzes, Darius), and the few in which the change might still wear an appearance of affectation. We are probably still too much accustomed to Thucydides, Delphi, and Lacedæmon, willingly to part with them for Thoukydides, Delphoi, and Lakēdaimon. But in general it will be admitted that much is lost by departing from the Greek forms; and if in some instances we may feel a reluctance in reverting to the latter, this feeling will soon be overcome if we remember that in many if not in most cases the Latin forms involved no change of sound. The fault lies with our insular pronunciation of vowels,—a peculiarity shared by us with no other nation. The Greek Moirai and the Latinised Mœræ, the Greek Boiotia and the Latinised Bœotia, were pronounced precisely alike; and thus all that we need to bear in mind is that the Greek *ai* and the Latin *æ* should be pronounced like *ai* in *fail*, the Greek *oi* and *ei* and the Latin *æ* like *ee* in *sheen*.

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THE TALE
OF
THE GREAT PERSIAN WAR

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE STRIFE.—THE TALES OF CRÆSUS
AND CAMBYSES.—THE ATHENIANS REGAIN THEIR FREE-
DOM.

Those far renowned brides of ancient song
Peopled the hollow dark, like burning stars ;
And I heard sounds of insult, shame, and wrong,
And trumpets blown for wars.

TENNYSON.

FOR many ages there was enmity between the Persians and the Greeks; and many tales were told on both sides to show how it began. So Herodotus of Halikarnassos sought diligently to learn the truth, by asking questions of those who knew; and he wrote a book to keep alive the memory of the great things which had been done, as well by the barbarians as by the Greeks.

The Persian tale-tellers lay the beginning of the quarrel to the charge of the Phœnicians, and say that these, as they sailed about the wide sea, came to Argos, which was then the greatest place in all Hellas, and there began to sell their wares. A few days afterwards, Iô, the daughter of Inachos the king, came with other maidens into the ship ;

1. and as they stood near the stern, buying the things for which they had need, the Phœnicians fell upon them, and carried away Iô, with those of her
2 maidens who were not able to escape. In requital of this, some Greeks, they say, went to Tyre, the great city of the Phœnicians, and stole away the king's daughter Eurôpê. Thus far both sides were equal. But after this the Greeks opened up the strife afresh, when they sailed to Aia in the Kolchian land, and to the river Phasis, and thence brought away by force Medeia the daughter of the king, who sent a herald after them to Hellas to ask for the maiden and to demand a recompense. But the Greeks said that they would give none, because they had received none when Iô
3 was taken away from Argos. In the second generation after this, Alexandros, the son of Priam, heard the tale, and determined to steal a wife from Hellas and give no recompense for her. So he went and stole Helen; and when the Greeks asked them to give her up and to make an atonement, the men of Troy told the Greeks that they had made no requital for Medeia, and now they
4 would make none for Helen. Thus far, there were but single thefts on either side; but henceforth the Persians lay much guilt to the charge of the Greeks; for if it be unjust to steal women, still (they said) it was folly to seek to avenge them, and wisdom to take no heed to what was

done, seeing that women were never stolen against their will. Instead of doing thus, the Greeks gathered together a great army, and, going into Asia, destroyed the kingdom of Priam: and therefore was there hatred between the Persians and the Greeks—for the Persians claim all the nations that dwell in Asia as their own, and a wrong done to any of them they hold to be done to themselves.

Such are the tales which are told of the former days;¹ but in after times there came other causes of quarrel.

¹ It is scarcely necessary to say that, if we put aside the names, this version of the legends of Iô, Eurôpê, Medeia, and Helen, has nothing in common with the old mythical traditions. Yet unless we lay full stress on this fact, we cannot measure accurately the degree in which Herodotus was influenced by a form of thought utterly opposed to the spirit of the ancient stories. The incidents as here given are not only probable but commonplace, and they are presented as connected links in the series of causes which led to the Persian War. But the myths have a perfectly independent existence, while they exhibit scarcely a single incident which is not supernatural. In the genuine story Iô is not a young lady who is deceived by the captain of a Phœnician merchant-vessel, but a maiden whom Zeus loves, and who, when changed into a heifer by Hêrê, is chased over boundless regions by the fearful gadfly (Manual of Mythology, p. 129). Eurôpê in the old legend was stolen away, not by Hellenes, but by Zeus in the form of a white bull; and the name of her mother Telephassa, who dwells in the purple land, points clearly to the origin of the story (Manual of Mythology, p. 108). The legend of Medeia is still more full of marvels and prodigies. It brings before us the golden fleece of the ram

1. 6 Crœsus, the son of Alyattes, ruled over the children of the Lydians, and over all the nations who live within the river Halys, westward; and he made many of the Greeks pay him tribute, when up to his time they had all been free; but the Lacedæmonians he won over to be his friends. In his days the power of the Persians began to
 46 grow very great, and Crœsus thought how he might break it down before it should become too strong; for Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, had put
 130 down his grandfather Astyages from being king of the Medians; and even before his day, Ky-
 103 axares, the father of Astyages, had taken Nineveh, and conquered the kingdom of Assyria. And therefore Crœsus was the more afraid, because Cyrus was the master of the Medes and Assyrians, and of the Persians, who were the bravest of all; and the thought of these things turned

who bore Phrixos and Hellê through the air, the voyage of the speaking ship Argô, the taming of the fire-breathing bulls, the destruction of the men who sprang from the dragon's teeth, the deadly robe of Helios which eats the flesh of Glaukê and of Kreôn, and the dragon chariot which bears the wise maiden away from the vengeance of the Argives. (Ib. p. 149, &c.) Of the myth of Helen, it is enough to say that it has been brought down to the level of ordinary history only by rejecting every feature in the narratives of the Iliad or the Odyssey, and that, if this method is to be accepted, the wildest and most absurd legends may without difficulty be made to wear the semblance of genuine history. (Manual of Mythology, p. 155. See also Tales of Ancient Greece, xlix. 85, 186, 154.)

aside the grief which he had for the death of his son Adrastus, whom Atys the Phrygian had unwittingly slain, so that he resolved to make trial of all the oracles to see which of them spake truly, before he asked them whether he should prosper in the war. He sent, therefore, to Ammon in Libya, to Amphiaraos and Trophonios and the Milesian Branchidai, to Delphi also, and Abai of the Phokians, and Dôdôna, charging the men to count one hundred days from the time of leaving Sardes, and then to ask all the oracles at once what Cræsus, the king of Lydia, might then be doing. What the other oracles answered, there are none to tell us; but at Delphi, when the Lydians had asked as Cræsus bade them, the priestess answered and said:

‘I know the number of the sand and the measure of the sea;

‘I understand the dumb man, and hear him who speaks not;

‘And there comes to me now the savour of a hard-shelled tortoise,

‘Which is seething in a brazen vessel with the flesh of a ram.

‘And brass there is beneath it and brass upon it.’¹

¹ I have not attempted to put the oracular responses into the form of hexameters, for it can scarcely be said with truth that any such metre exists in English. The hexameter is emi-

- i. 48 These words the Lydians wrote down and carried back to the king; and when all had returned to Sardes from the other oracles, Cræsus took the answers and unfolded them. But none of them pleased him until he came to the words of the Delphian god, for he alone knew that on the hundredth day Cræsus went into a secret place where none might see him, and boiled a tortoise
49 and a ram in a brazen vessel over which he placed a brazen cover. This oracle alone, with that of
50 Amphiaraos, he held to have spoken truly. Therefore with mighty sacrifices he sought to win the favour of the god at Delphi. He offered up three thousand cattle, and he set on fire a great pile of couches brodered in silver and gold, with golden goblets and purple robes. He sent him also many talents of fine gold and silver, which he wrought out into the shape of bricks, with the figure of a lion made of gold, ten talents in weight, which now stands in the treasure chamber of the Corin-
51 thians at Delphi. Many other gifts also he sent, goblets and jars and vessels for sprinkling, all
52 notable for their beauty and their richness. Others
53 also he sent to the temple of Amphiaraos; and he

nently a measure for a language guided by quantity, while the English is governed altogether by accent: and any attempt to reproduce the Greek metre in an English dress serves only to place the latter language under restraints which are alien to its character and spirit.

charged his messengers to go to both these oracles and ask if he should march against the Persians, and if he should ask any others to help him in the war. And both gave the same answer that if he went against the Persians he would destroy a great kingdom; and counselled him to find out the mightiest among the Greeks and make them his friends. Then was Cræsus still more pleased, 54 feeling sure now that he would throw down the kingdom of Cyrus; and he sent money for all the Delphians, two pieces for each man; in return for which the Delphians gave great honours to Cræsus and all the Lydians. 1.

After this Cræsus questioned the god for the 55 third time; for when he found that he might trust him, he loaded him with questions. And now, when he asked if his empire should last a long time, the priestess answered—

‘When a mule shall be king of the Medes,

‘Then, O tender-footed Lydian, flee by the banks of the pebbly Hermos,

‘Flee and tarry not, neither care to hide thy fear.’

Then Cræsus was more than ever pleased, for he thought that a mule would never rule over the Medes, and so his own power should last for ever.

After this he sought to learn who were the 56 mightiest among the Greeks, and he found that the

1. Athenians were at the head of the Ionic race and the Lacedæmonians of the Dorian;¹ but the Athenians were at this time hard pressed under

¹ The mythical genealogies would alone suffice to show that no generic distinctions between the several portions of the Hellenic race can be founded on the mere names of Ionians and Dorians. Such distinctions, if they are to be ascertained at all, belong to purely physiological enquiry. History has nowhere preserved the evidence. All that can be said is, that in historical Greece we find certain peoples calling themselves Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians, that they are found both in Western Hellas and on the eastern shores of the Ægæan sea, and that the latter are said to be offshoots from the former. This alleged fact stands precisely on a level with the *caput mortuum* to which Thucydides (i. 9-11) has reduced the story of the Trojan war; and we can only say of it in Mr. Grote's words, that as the possibility of it cannot be denied, so neither can its reality be affirmed. The origin of national or clan names is a subject of great interest, which has not yet been satisfactorily handled. Whatever the name Ion may be, it is clearly connected with other mythical Greek names, as Iolê, Iolâos, Iokastê, Iamos. When it is added that the names of Hellenes, Athenians, Arcadians, Lykians, Argives, are all claimed by comparative mythologists as pointing in the same direction, and carrying us away into cloudland, we may well be cautious in using them as evidence in strictly historical enquiries. The differences between Spartan and Athenian character may have been great, but they cannot be explained by referring Spartans and Athenians to the sons or grandsons of Deukalion and Pyrrha.

These distinctions were unknown to Persians and Phœnicians who included all the Greeks under the Ionian name (Javan), just as the Romans spoke of the Hellenes collectively as Greeks—a name which Aristotle gives only to a tribe in the parts about Dôdôna and the Achelôos, and which therefore answers to the name Hesperian as a designation for the inhabitants of Italy.

the rule of their tyrant Peisistratos the son of Hippokrates ; while the Lacedæmonians had risen to great power and were well ordered by the laws which they had received from Lykourgos. To these therefore he sent a herald, and made a covenant with them that they should help in the war ; and so he made ready to march against the Persians. Neither would he listen to the words of Sandanis, who counselled him well, saying, ‘ O king, thou art going against men whose raiment is of leather, and who eat not what they like but what they can get in a rough and barren country, who have neither wine nor figs nor anything else that is good. If, then, thou shouldest conquer them, what canst thou take away from men who have nothing ? If thou art conquered, think what thou wilt lose. When they have once tasted of our good things, they will not cease to pour in upon us ; and therefore I thank the gods who have not put it into the mind of the Persians to come forth against the Lydians.’

Thus he despised all counsel, and marched to the Halys, where the army crossed over on the bridges which were there before ; or, as some say, Thales¹ of Miletos made a new channel for the

¹ Thales was numbered among the seven wise men of Greece—a mystic band which reminds us of the seven Rishis of ancient Hindoo tradition as well as of the seven champions of Christendom. The death of Thales preceded the manhood of Herodotus

- i. river, so that, when some part of the water was taken off, the men were able to cross it easily.
- 76 Then Crœsus went on to Pteriê, and took many cities, and ravaged their lands, until Cyrus came up with his armies. First he tried to draw off the Ionians from Crœsus, but they would not hearken to him; and afterwards a great battle was fought, in which neither side had the victory,
- 77 for the night came on and parted them. On the next day, when Cyrus came not again to the attack, Crœsus drew off his army to Sardes, for he liked not the scantiness of their numbers: and he was minded during the winter to gather to his aid the Egyptians and Babylonians, with the men of Lacedæmon, and so in the spring to march out once more against the Persians. So when he reached Sardes, he sent away all the army which he had with him, for he thought not that the Persians were even now coming against him.
- 79 For when Cyrus knew that Crœsus was gone to Sardes after the battle in Pteriê and was about to scatter his army, he determined to march against him before his allies could come together, and himself to bring the news of his coming.

by about a century, and his birth preceded it by nearly two centuries. He left nothing in writing. . . . Hence the accounts both of his life and doctrines which reached the earliest historians were confused and inaccurate or alloyed with fable.'—Sir G. C. Lewis, *Astronomy of the Ancients*, ch. ii. section 2.

Then was Crœsus in a great strait, but still he I.
led forth his Lydians, who were at this time the
bravest of the nations in Asia and fought on
horseback with long spears; and he drew them 80
up on the large plain which lies before the city of
Sardes. These horsemen Cyrus greatly feared; and
at the counsel of Harpagos, a Mede, he placed
riders on all the camels, and drew them up in
front of his army. So when the battle began,
and the horses of the Lydians smelt the camels
and saw them, they turned and fled, and the
hopes of King Crœsus perished. But still the
Lydians fought on bravely until many were killed,
and at last they were driven into the city and
shut up there. Then Crœsus sent in haste to his 81
allies, and bade them come at once to his aid;
for, before, he had charged them to be ready at
the end of the fourth month.

So fourteen days passed away; and then Cyrus 84
promised to reward richly the man who first
should climb the walls. But the men tried in
vain to climb them, until a Mardian, named
Hyroiades, found a part where no guards had
been placed, because the hill was steep and the
Lydians thought that no one would ever attempt
to climb up by that way. But Hyroiades had
seen some one go down there and fetch up his
helmet, which had rolled from the wall; and by
the same path he went up himself, and other

- i. Persians with him; and so was Sardes taken, and all the city plundered.

86 Thus Crœsus was made prisoner, when he had reigned for fourteen years and had been besieged for fourteen days,¹ and when, as the oracle had foretold, he had destroyed his own great power. And the men who took him led him to Cyrus, who raised a great pile of wood and placed Crœsus on it, bound in chains, with fourteen of the Lydians, either because he wished to offer them up as the firstfruits of his victory, or to see if any of the gods would deliver Crœsus who (as he had learnt) was one who greatly honoured them. Then to Crœsus in his great agony came back the words which Solon had spoken to him, that no living man was happy; and as he thought on this he sighed, and after a long silence thrice

¹ This parallelism between the years and the days shows that the narrative still keeps us in greater or less degree in the region of artificial chronology. This system has been applied with great ingenuity to the Roman annals down to the burning of the city by the Gauls. The simple plan of dividing it into three equal periods is followed up by the more skilful device of placing the middle of the fourth reign at the end of the first of these periods. The arbitrary way in which the length of the other reigns was determined has been laid bare by Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, vol. i. *Beginning and Nature of the Earliest History*. An eight times repeated cycle of eight years, with the number forty employed to express completeness, forms the basis of early Anglo-Saxon chronology. Lappenberg, *History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, i. 77, 109.

called out the name of Solon. And Cyrus, hearing this, bade the interpreters ask him whom he called; but for a long time he would not answer them. At last, when they pressed him greatly, he told them that long ago Solon the Athenian came to see him and thought nothing of all his wealth; and how the words had come to pass which Solon spake, not thinking of him more than of any others who fancy that they are happy. While Cræsus thus spake, the edge of the pile was already kindled. And Cyrus, when he heard the tale, remembered that he too was but a man, and that he was now giving alive to the flames one who had been not less wealthy than himself; and when he thought also how man abideth not ever in one stay, he charged them to put out the fire and bring Cræsus and the other Lydians down from the pile. But the flame was too strong; and when Cræsus saw that 87 the mind of Cyrus was changed but that the men were not able to quench the fire, he prayed to Apollo to come and save him, if ever he had done aught to please him in the days that were past. And suddenly the wind rose, and clouds gathered where none had been before, and there burst from the heaven a great storm of rain, which put out the blazing fire. Then Cyrus knew that Cræsus was a good man and that the gods loved him; and when he came down from

1. the pile, he said, 'O Cræsus, who persuaded thee to march against my land, and to become my enemy rather than my friend?' And Cræsus answered, 'It is the god of the Greeks, O king, who urged me on; for no man is so senseless as to choose war rather than peace, in which the children bury their fathers, while in war the fathers bury their children: but so it pleased the gods that thus it should be.'

88 Then Cyrus unloosed his chains and kept him by his side, and Cræsus gave him good counsel
90 touching the plunder of the city, so that Cyrus bade him ask as a gift whatever he should most desire to have. And Cræsus said, 'O king, let me send these fetters to the god of the Greeks, and ask him if it be his wont to deceive those who have done him good.' Then Cyrus asked him what he meant; and when Cræsus had told him all the tale, he laughed, and said, 'This thou shalt have, O Cræsus, and whatsoever else thou mayest wish for.' So he sent men to Delphi to show the chains, and to ask if it was the wont of the Hellenic gods that they should be ungrateful.

91 When the Lydians came into the temple, the priestess said, 'Not even a god can escape from the lot which is prepared for him; and Cræsus in the fifth generation, has suffered for the sin of him who, at the bidding of a woman, slew his lord and seized his power. Much did the god

I.

labour that the evil might fall in the days of his children and not of Crœsus himself, but he could not turn the fates aside. Still, what he could he obtained for him. For three years he put off the taking of Sardes; and he came to his aid when the flame had grown fierce on the blazing pile. And, yet more, he is wrong in blaming the god for the answer that if he went against the Persians he would destroy a great power; for he should then have asked if the god meant his own power or that of Cyrus: and therefore is he the cause of his own sorrow. Neither, again, would he understand what the god spake about the mule; for Cyrus himself was this mule, being the son of a Median woman, the daughter of Astyages, and of a man born of the meaner race of the Persians.' This answer the Lydians brought to Sardes; and Crœsus knew that the god was guiltless, and that the fault was all his own.¹ So was Crœsus taken, and so was Ionia first subdued.

¹ Herodotus acknowledges that he obtained the story of the blazing pyre from Lydian sources. A Persian with his belief about fire would scarcely have made Cyrus use it for the purpose of burning an enemy. But a miraculous interposition is found also in Ktesias, who speaks of the chains of Crœsus as miraculously struck off in the midst of a storm of thunder and lightning, but says nothing of the kindled pile. Apart from the bare fact that Cyrus overthrew the Lydian monarchy, the story of Crœsus is simply an embodiment of the theological feelings of the age. It is an illustration of the absolute supremacy of the Moirai, or

- I. 141 But soon the Ionians rebelled against the Per-
152 sians and sent to ask aid from the Lacedæmonians,
who refused to help them but yet sent men in a
ship of fifty oars to charge Cyrus not to hurt any
153 city of the Greeks, for the Spartans would not
overlook it. But Cyrus asked of the bystanders
who the Spartans might be; and when he heard,
he answered, 'I never yet feared men who have a
place in the midst of their city where they take
oaths and cheat one another. If I live and pros-
per, these men shall have sorrows of their own
to talk about instead of the woes of the Ionians.'
- 162 So Harpagos, the Median, was sent against the
169 Ionians; and soon he conquered them, and Ionia
was a second time brought into slavery.
- 178 Then the power of King Cyrus grew stronger,
and he went against Babylon and took it, and put
200 down Labynetos from being king: and after this,
he purposed to march against the Massagetai, a
great and strong nation, who dwell beyond the
205 river Araxes and who at this time were ruled by
a queen named Tomyris, whose husband was dead.
So Cyrus asked her to become his wife; but
Tomyris knew that he sought not herself but her

Norns (Manual of Mythology, p. 234), even over the gods themselves. 'The religious element must here be viewed as giving the form, the historical element as giving the matter only, and not the whole matter, of the story.' (Grote, *History of Greece*, Part II. ch. xxxii.)

kingdom, and forbade him to approach her. And I.
 Cyrus, seeing that craft availed not, marched
 openly to the Araxes and built bridges by which 206
 his army might cross over. But as he was thus
 busied, Tomyris sent a herald, and said, 'King of
 the Medes, cease from thy toil, for thou canst not
 know the end of thy labour. Rule over thine own
 people, and leave me to rule over mine. But if
 thou wilt not do thus, come, let us make a
 covenant together. Either we will go three days'
 journey from the river, so that thou mayest cross
 over into my land; or do thou depart in like
 manner from the river and let us pass into thy
 country.'¹ Then Cyrus called together the first
 men of the Persians, who all besought him to let 207
 Tomyris pass over into their land; but Crœsus
 liked not their counsel, and he said, 'O king, I
 promised at the first, when Zeus gave me into thy
 hands, to do all that I could in thy service. My
 sorrows have been my teachers; but there will be
 no use in my words, if thou thinkest thyself im-
 mortal and that thou art leading an army of men
 who will never die. But if thou knowest that
 thou art a man and rulest also over men, then
 learn this, that there is a cycle in human fortunes,
 which, as it turns round in its course, suffers not

¹ This challenge is introduced into the narrative of the first
 Scottish campaign of Edward III. in 1327. (Longman, *Life*
and Times of Edward III., vol. ii.)

1. the same men to be always prosperous. Now if we receive the enemy into our land, there is this danger, that if defeated thou wilt ruin all thy kingdom, for the Massagetai will not care to return to their own country; and if thou gainest the victory, it will avail thee more to gain it where we may follow them as they flee; and, besides this, it is not to be borne that Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, should yield ground at the bidding of a woman. Cross the river then, and leave in the camp the weakest men in our army with plenty of food and wine; and the Massagetai, who have but rough and poor fare, will turn greedily to the feast made ready for them, and leave thee to win glory elsewhere.'

211 This counsel Cyrus followed, and went on a day's journey from the banks of the Araxes. There he left the sick and weak of his army; and the Massagetai came upon them and took them, and when they had so filled themselves with food and wine that they fell asleep, the Persians came back, and, slaying many, took many more alive, and
212 among these the son of Queen Tomyris who was their general. But Tomyris, when she heard it, sent a herald and said, 'O Cyrus, who canst not quench thy thirst for blood, be not proud and lifted up because thou hast taken my son, not in open fight, but by the fruit of the vine with which ye so fill and madden yourselves that, as the wine

goes down into the body, vile words rush up to I.
 your lips. And now hearken unto me. Give me
 back my son and depart scatheless from my land;
 for, if thou wilt not do this, I swear by the Sun
 who is the lord of the Massagetæi, that I will make
 even thee drink thy fill of blood.' But Cyrus 213
 cared not for her words, and Tomyris gathered all 214
 her people together and fought with him in a very
 fierce battle, in which, when their arrows were all
 spent, they smote each other with spears and
 daggers. At last the Persians were beaten, and
 Cyrus himself was killed. Then Tomyris filled a
 skin with human blood, and when she had found
 the body of Cyrus among the dead, she thrust his
 head into the skin; and thus was fulfilled the
 word which she had spoken to him.¹

Cyrus had been king for twenty and nine years;
 and when he died, his son Cambyses ruled in his III.
 stead, and made war on Amasis, king of Egypt, 1

¹ The reign and the conquests of Cyrus are unquestionably historical; but on the alleged incidents of his life no reliance can be placed. The story of his early years is the story of Romulus, Œdipus, Telephos, and a host of mythical heroes. The name of his grandfather Astyages reappears in that of the Biting Snake, Zohak (Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. ii. p. 169); and the details of his later life are almost as shadowy as the rest. According to Xenophon (*Cyropædeia*, viii. 7) he died peacefully in his bed at Pasargada. Either then the two versions existed, or Xenophon invented the story which he has so well worked up at the end of his romance.

- III. because, when he asked for his daughter in marriage, Amasis had sent him not his own child but the daughter of Apries, who had been king before him, and whom he had himself slain. So Cambyses marched against the Egyptians and fought in Pelusium with Psammenitos the king (for Amasis, his father, was now dead), and conquered him in the battle. Then going to Saïs, he charged his people to bring before him the body of Amasis and scourge it and pluck off the hair ; and when they were not able to do this because it had been embalmed, Cambyses ordered it to be burnt, which both Persians and Egyptians hold to be an unholy thing ; for the Persians think it wrong to give the body of a man to the god Fire, and the Egyptians give not their dead to that which they hold to be a wild beast which eats up all that it can seize and dies when its feast is ended.
- 17 After this, Cambyses purposed to go against many nations ; but his armies prospered not, and he did continually things more and more strange and horrible. He put to death many of the Egyptians because they rejoiced at the birth of the calf-god Apis. And at last, sending for the 29 priests and the calf, he smote the calf with a dagger, and said to them, ‘ Poor fools, these then are your gods, with flesh and blood, and which may be wounded by men. Truly the god well matches his worshippers ; but ye shall smart for

your insult.' So he scourged the priests, and the feast was broken up, and the calf died in the temple where it had been smitten. III.

For this cause the Egyptians say that Cam- 30
byses was struck with madness; while others hold that his body had been always unsound, and that the disease of his mind was caused by the sickness of his body. But however this may be, he slew his brother Smerdis, and his sister, and then he shot the son of Prexaspes to the heart, to show 35
that he was not mad. At last the Magians arose, and one of them, who pretended to be Smerdis, 61
the king's brother, seized the kingdom, and shared it with his brother Patizeithes. But Cambyses was 63
not able to march against him, for he died childless 65
at Ekbatana in the Syrian land.

Then the Magians reigned at Sousa, and the power went over to the Medes, until seven men 70
of the noblest of the Persians conspired against the Magians and slew them, and set up Darius, 88
the son of Hystaspes, on the throne of Cyrus the Persian.

Not many years after these things, it came to pass that the Athenians also rose up against their tyrants, the children of Peisistratos; for when v. 55
Hipparchos had been slain by Harmodios and Aristogeiton, his brother Hippias began cruelly to oppress them, so that the people obtained help 65
from Sparta and drove away Hippias, who went

- v. to dwell at Sigeion on the banks of the river Skamandros. And as soon as they were free, the Athenians became great and strong, and conquered many people and took their land. And not only in this, but in every way, we see how good a thing is freedom,¹ since even the Athenians were in nowise better than their neighbours until they had put down their tyrants: for up to that time they were faint of heart, because they were toiling for a master; but when they were free, every man knew that he was working for himself.

¹ Appendix I. The Athenian Constitution.

CHAPTER II.

THE FALL OF POLYKRATES.—DEMOKÊDÊS AT SOUSA
AND AT KROTÔN.

I see thy glory like a shooting star
Fall to the base earth from the firmament.
Thy sun sets weeping in the lowly west,
Witnessing storms to come.

SHAKESPEARE.

Now in the time of Cambyses, king of Persia, Herodotus
III. 39 there ruled over the island of Samos a tyrant named Polykrates, the son of Aiakês. This man had taken the city by force; and at the first he divided it into three parts, and gave two parts to his brothers Pantagnôtos and Sylosôn. But afterwards he slew the one and drove away the other, and so he gained all Samos for himself. And when he had gained it, he made an alliance with Amasis, king of Egypt, both sending him gifts and receiving gifts from him. In a little while Polykrates became very great, and his fame was noised abroad throughout Ionia and the rest of Hellas; for whithersoever he went all prospered

III. to his hand. And he had one hundred ships of fifty oars each, and a thousand bowmen. He robbed and plundered all, neither did he respect any; for he said that he should make his friend more glad by giving back that which he had taken from him, than if he had never taken it away from him at all. He conquered also many of the islands and many of the cities on the mainland; and in a sea fight he beat the Lesbians and took them, when they came forth with all their strength to the help of the people of Miletos; and he made them dig in chains the great moat around the wall in Samos.

40 Now Amasis, king of Egypt, had heard of the well-doing of Polykrates, and it was a grief of mind to him. And when he prospered yet more exceedingly, Amasis wrote a letter and sent it to Samos, saying, 'Thus saith Amasis to Polykrates. It is pleasant to hear of the well-doing of a man who is a friend: but thy great success pleases me not, for I know that the Deity is jealous. So, for myself and for those whom I love, I wish that in some things we may prosper and in others fail, and thus pass our days with changes from good to evil, rather than that we should do well in all things. For never yet have I by hearsay or tale known one so prospering in everything, who has not perished miserably at the last. Heed thou then what I say, and do thus for thy great glory.

Seek out that thing for the loss of which thy soul
would most be grieved, and cast it away, so that
it may never come to mortal hand. And if here-
after thy good fortune be not mixed with pain,
remedy it in the manner which I have set before
thee.' III.

So the words of Amasis seemed good to Poly- 41
krates, and he sought amongst his treasures for
that which was most precious to him; and he
found a seal-ring of emerald stone, set in gold, the
work of Theodoros, the son of Têleklês of Samos.
Then he filled with men a ship of fifty oars, and
bade them row out into the sea; and when they
were far away from the island, he took the ring
from off his finger in the sight of all the men and
cast it into the sea, and went home in great
sorrow.

Now, on the fifth or sixth day after these things, 42
there came to the door of his house a fisherman
with a large and beautiful fish, and asked to see
Polykrates. And when he was come into his
presence, he said, 'O king, though I live by the
work of my hands, I would not carry to the market
this fish which I have caught, for it seemed to me
a gift fit for thee; and therefore I have brought
it.' And Polykrates was pleased and said to him,
'Thou hast done well, and I thank thee for thy
words and for thy gift, and I bid thee to sup with
me.' So the fisherman went home rejoicing; but

iii. the servants, as they made ready the fish, found within it the seal-ring of Polykrates, and they were very glad and took it to him, and told him how they had found it. Then it seemed to him a marvellous thing; and he wrote in a letter all that he had done and all that had happened unto him, and sent it to Amasis to Egypt.

43 When Amasis had read the letter which came from Polykrates, he knew that no man could deliver another from that which was to come upon him; and that, for all his well-doing, Polykrates would come to no good end, seeing that he found even those things which he threw away. So he sent a herald to Samos, and broke off the alliance; and for this reason he brake it, that when some evil fate overtook Polykrates, his own heart might not be grieved as for a friend.

120 Now Cyrus, the king of Persia, had set up a ruler over Sardes, who was called Oroites. This man was set on doing an evil deed, for although he had suffered no wrong in word or in act from Polykrates and had not even seen him, yet he sought to slay him, as the more part say, for some such cause as this. It chanced that as Oroites sat before the doors of the king's palace and talked with another Persian, named Mitrobates, who ruled the province in Daskyleion, they strove with each other to know which was

the braver. And Mitrobates made it a reproach to Oroites, and said, 'What! dost thou count thyself to be a man, seeing thou hast not gained for the king the island of Samos which is close to thy province, so easy too for anyone to seize, since one of the men of the island has taken it with fifteen heavy-armed soldiers, and now is tyrant therein?' When Oroites heard these words, they say that he was grieved at the rebuke, and sought not so much to requite him who had said these things, as, by any means, to slay Polykrates, through whom he was evil spoken of. iii.

So, when Oroites abode in Magnesia which is 122 on the banks of the river Mæander, he sent a messenger to Samos, to learn the mind of Polykrates; and he came and spake these words: 'Thus saith Oroites to Polykrates. I hear that thou art set on great things, but that thou hast not money according to thy designs. Thus then do thou, and thou shalt both stablsh thyself and save me, for King Cambyses seeks to slay me; and this is told me of a surety. Therefore come and take me away and my money, and keep part of it for thyself, and part of it let me have. So if money be that which thou desirest, thou shalt be ruler over all Hellas. And if thou believest not about my wealth, send the trustiest of thy servants, and to him will I show it.' When Polykrates 123

III. heard this, he was glad and resolved to send one, for he greatly desired to have money. So he sent a man named Maiandrios, who was his scribe, to see it. And when Oroites heard that the Samian was at hand, he filled eight vessels with stones, all but a little about the brim; and on the stones he placed gold, and fastened the vessels and kept them ready.

So Maiandrios came and saw them, and told it
124 to Polykrates who made ready to go, although the soothsayers forbade him much, and so did his friends. And his daughter also sought to stay him, because she had seen a vision which be-
125 tokened evil to him; but he would not hear. Thus he despised all counsel and sailed to Oroites, taking with him many of his comrades, and amongst them Demokêdês, the son of Kalliphôn of Krotôn, a physician famed beyond all others of his time in the practice of his art. And when Polykrates came to Magnesia, he perished miserably, with an end befitting neither himself nor his great designs; for, saving those who were tyrants of Syracuse, no one of the Greek tyrants deserved to be compared for greatness to Polykrates. And Oroites sent away those of his followers who were Samians, bidding them to be thankful to him for their freedom; but those amongst them who were strangers or slaves he kept as prisoners taken in war. So ended the

good fortune of Polykrates in the way which III.
Amasis, king of Egypt, had foretold; but, no 126
long time after, the vengeance of Polykrates
overtook Oroites. For, when Cambyses was dead
and the Magians were reigning, he did no good
in Sardes to the Persians whose power had been
taken away by the Medes, but killed Mitrobates
who ruled in Daskyleion, and his son Kranaspes,
men of note amongst the Persians, and waxed
wanton altogether, so that he slew a messenger
who came to him from Darius, because he brought
a message which did not please him.

So Darius sought to punish Oroites for all his 127
evil deeds, and chiefly because he had killed Mi-
trobates. But he did not think fit to make war
upon him openly, because his own power was not
yet firm, and because he heard that Oroites was a
very mighty man and that he was guarded by a
thousand Persians and ruled in the provinces of
Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. So he called together
the chief men of the Persians and said unto them,
'O Persians, which of you will do my bidding,
and slay Oroites or bring him to me alive, for he
has done the Persians no good, but only great evil?
He has killed Mitrobates and his son, and slain the
messengers whom I sent unto him.' Then there 128
rose up thirty men, who were each ready to do his
will; and as they strove which of them should
do it, Darius ordered them to draw lots, and the

III. lot fell on Bagaïos, the son of Artontes. And Bagaïos wrote many letters and sealed them all with the king's seal, and went with them to Sardes, and gave the letters one by one to the scribe that he might read them. When he saw that they gave great reverence to the letters and to what was read from them, he gave to the scribe one in which were written these words, 'O Persians, King Darius forbids you to guard Oroïtes.' And when they heard this, they lowered their spears, and Bagaïos knew that they would obey the command of the king. So he took courage and gave the last letter to the scribe, wherein was written, 'King Darius charges the Persians who are in Sardes to slay Oroïtes.' As soon as the guards heard this, they drew their swords and slew him : and so the vengeance for Polykrates overtook Oroïtes the Persian.

129 Then all that belonged to Oroïtes was taken to Sousa : and it came to pass in a little while that King Darius in a hunt leaped from his horse and twisted his foot ; and it was a very great strain, for the ankle bone was moved from its socket. Now, as he was wont to have about him Egyptians who had great fame for their skill in medicine, he sent for these first ; but they forced the foot and worked still greater evil. For seven days and seven nights Darius had no sleep by reason of the pain ; and on the eighth day, as he lay in misery,

one who by chance had heard in Sardes of the art of Demokêdês of Krotôn, told it to the king; and he commanded forthwith to bring the man before him. And when they had found him lying uncared for somewhere among the slaves of Oroites, they led him forth into the midst, dragging his chains and clothed with rags.

Then King Darius asked him if he knew the 130 art; and he denied, for he feared that, if he showed his skill, he should never see his own land again. But Darius saw that he was dealing craftily, and commanded those who had led him in to bring forth scourges and goads; and then he confessed that he knew the art but poorly, having lived for a while with a physician. Then, at the bidding of the King, he used the remedies of the Greeks, and, applying gentle means after strong ones, caused him to sleep, and in a little while made him well again when he never hoped to be firm of foot for the time to come.

Then Demokêdês, having healed Darius, had a 132 very great house in Sousa, and ate at the same table with the king: and, save that he might not go to Hellas, all things were granted to him; for, when the Egyptians were going to be impaled because they were beaten by a Greek, he begged them from the king and saved them alive. He also ransomed a soothsayer from Elis who had followed Polykrates and lay neglected amongst the slaves.

III. So Demokêdês was in very great favour with the king.

133 And it came to pass, not long after these things, that there grew a swelling upon the breast of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus and wife of Darius; and it burst and spread wide. So long as it was small, she concealed it from shame, and told it to none: but when the evil was now great, she sent for Demokêdês and showed it to him, and he said that he would make her well; but he caused her to swear that she would grant him in return that
134 which he should desire of her. So he healed her; and Atossa, being taught by Demokêdês, spake thus unto Darius, ‘O king, thou sittest still with all thy great power, and gainest no nations or kingdoms for the Persians; but a man who is young and lord of great kingdoms should do some great thing, that the Persians may know that it is a man who rules over them. Therefore now rouse thyself, whilst thou art young in years, for, as the body grows old, the mind grows along with it and is dulled for all action.’ Then the king answered and said, ‘Thou hast told me even that which I purpose to do, for I have resolved to make a bridge and cross over from this continent against the Scythians; and this shall be done shortly.’ Then said Atossa, ‘See now, go not against the Scythians first, for thou mayest march against

these whenever it pleaseth thee ; but go, I pray thee, against Hellas : for I have heard the report of them, and I desire to have Laconian maidens, and Argive, and Athenian, and Corinthian, to be my servants ; and thou hast one who above all men is fitted to show and tell thee all about Hellas—I mean him who has healed thy foot.’ And Darius answered, ‘ Since thou willest that we first make trial against Hellas, it seems to me best to send along with this man spies of the Persians who shall see and learn all about them and show it unto me.’

Then Darius charged fifteen chosen men of the 135 Persians to follow Demokêdês and go through the coast of Hellas, and to see that he did not escape, but by all means to bring him back again. Then he called Demokêdês himself, and commanded him to return to Sousa when he should have guided the Persians over all Hellas ; and he bade him take, as gifts for his father and his brethren, all the movable goods that were in his house, saying that he would give him much more when he came back again. He promised also to send with him a vessel laden with all good things. But Demokêdês feared that this might be a trap to catch him ; so he said that he would leave his own goods in the land, that he might have them on his return, but that he would take the

117. ship, that he might have whence to give to his friends.

136 So they went down to Sidon, a city of Phœnicia, and manned two triremes, and with them a merchant vessel laden with good things ; and when they were ready, they sailed along the coasts of Hellas and wrote in a book all the wonderful things that they saw, until they came to Taras¹ in Italy. There Aristophilides, the king of the Tarentines, who was a friend of Demokêdês, took off the rudders of the Persian ships, and shut up the Persians themselves in prison, because he said that they were spies ; and while they were in this plight, Demokêdês fled away to Krotôn. So now, when he had come to his own city, Aristophilides let the Persians go, and gave back what he had taken from them ; and they followed after Demokêdês, and came to Krotôn and found him in the market-place. But when they laid hands on him, the men of Krotôn beat them with clubs and took Demokêdês away and also the gift-vessel which Darius had sent with him. So the Persians sailed back to Asia, and sought not to go any more over Hellas, because they had lost their

¹ Tarentum. The Latin names of Greek towns in Italy and Sicily were formed from the genitive cases of the Greek names. This in the case of Maloeis, Maleventum, led to the singular substitution of Beneventum, to avoid a name which sounded of evil omen in Latin ears.

guide. But, as they were now going, Demokédês charged them to tell Darius that he had married the daughter of Milon, the wrestler. Now the name of Milon was very great with the king; and Demokédês, I think, hastened the marriage, that he might appear to King Darius to be a notable man in his own country also. But the Persians, 138 as they went back, were wrecked on the Iapygian shore and made slaves: but a man named Gillos, who had been driven away from Taras, ransomed them and took them to King Darius, who promised to give him whatsoever he should ask. So Gillos told him how he had been banished, and besought the king to restore him to his own city; but, fearing to disturb all Hellas, if a great army should sail to Italy for his sake, he said that the people of Knidos, who were friends of the Tarentines, could restore him. So Darius charged the people of Knidos to take Gillos to his own country, and they went with him to Taras; but they could not persuade the men of that city to receive him, and they were not able to compel them by force.

Even so did these things come to pass;¹ and

¹ Of the story of Demokédês it may be said that, like many other incidents in the narrative of Herodotus, it is in no way necessary. All Eastern empires fall as soon as they cease to be aggressive; and Persian aggression had brought about a collision with the Asiatic Greeks, and thus rendered inevitable a

- III. these were the first Persians who came to Hellas from Asia.

struggle with their western kinsmen, without referring to the private life of the royal harem. The inscription at Behistun scarcely bears out the rebuke of Atossa for the unwarlike inactivity of Darius in the first or in any other part of his reign.

CHAPTER III.

THE INROAD OF THE PERSIANS INTO SCYTHIA.—THE TALE
OF ARISTAGORAS AND HISTIAIOS.—MILTIADES AND MA-
RATHON.

Preserves alike its bounds and boundless fame
The battle-field, where Persia's victim horde
First bowed beneath the brunt of Hellas' sword,
As on the morn to distant glory dear,
When Marathon became a magic word.

BYRON.

THEN King Darius led forth his armies against the Scythians, as he was before minded; and they crossed over into Europe at the Thracian Bosporos, where a bridge had been built by Man-⁸⁷ drokles the Samian. At the first the king thought to have the bridge unloosed, as soon as all should have gone over; but Koês, a man of Mytilene,⁹⁰ besought him to let it remain, lest there should be no way to escape if any evil befell them in the war. So Darius charged the Ionians to keep the bridge for sixty days, and then he marched away against the Scythians. But he fared not well in the war, for the people dwelt in desert regions,

Herodotus
IV. 1

- iv. and it was hard to track them out. And Darius
131 and his host were in sore distress, when there came
a man from the Scythians, bringing with him a
bird and a mouse, a frog and five arrows. But
when the Persians asked him what these gifts
might mean, the man said that he had received
no charge but to give them and to return. Then
132 the Persians took counsel; and the king thought
that by these gifts the Scythians yielded up them-
selves, their land and their water, because the
mouse lives on the land and the frog in the water,
and the bird signified the horses of warriors, and
the arrows showed that they yielded up their
power. But Gobryas, one of the seven who slew
the Magians, spake and said, ‘O Persians, unless
ye become birds and fly up into heaven, or go
down like mice beneath the earth, or, becoming
frogs, leap into the lake, ye will not escape being
shot to death by these arrows.’
135 Then the king feared greatly, and at last he
commanded to bind all the sick of the army and
the beasts of burden, and to leave them in the
camp. So they lit fires and left the sick, and then
136 hastened away to reach the bridge. But when the
Scythians heard the cries of the men who had
been left behind, they knew that the host of the
Persians had fled away; and they made haste to
reach the bridge first. And when they were come
thither, they called out to the Ionians who were

in the ships to loosen all the bridge and to go away. iv.

Now among the Ionians there was an Athenian¹³⁷ named Miltiades, who was tyrant of the Chersonesos; and he gave counsel to do as the Scythians bade them, and to set their country free from the Persians. But Histiaios, the tyrant of Miletos, besought them to guard the bridge until the king should come, and he said, ‘O ye tyrants, be sure of this, that, if we leave the Persians to perish, the men of our cities will rise up against us, because it is the king who strengthens us in our power; and if he die, neither shall I be able to rule in Miletos, nor you in those cities of which ye are the tyrants.’ Then all gave judgment to¹³⁸ wait for the coming of the king, and to cheat the Scythians by pretending to unloose the bridge. So the Scythians were deceived and went to look for¹⁴⁰ the Persians, who came by another way. It was night when they reached the bridge; and when they found that the boats were unloosed, they feared greatly that the Ionians had left them to perish. But Darius commanded an Egyptian in his army, who had a very loud voice, to call Histiaios of Miletos; and Histiaios heard the cry, and the bridge was made fast again, for the Persians to cross over.

Now, when Darius reached Sardes, he remembered the good deed of Histiaios, and he promised v. 11

v to give him whatsoever he should ask. So he asked for Myrkinos in the Edonian land, because
23 he wished to build a city there ; and he went thither and began to make the placè strong. But while he was so doing, Megabazos, the general of Darius, heard it ; and as soon as he came to Sardes, he spake thus unto the king : ‘ O king, what hast thou done ? Thou hast given to a Greek, who is wise and crafty, to have a city in Thrace, where there is much timber for building ships, and blades for oars, and mines of silver ; and round it there are many people, both Greek and barbarian, who will take him for a chief and do his will by night and by day. See then that he make not war against thee in time to come.’

24 So King Darius sent a messenger to Histiaios, to Myrkinos, and said, ‘ O Histiaios, thus saith King Darius. I have pondered it well, and I find none who is better minded to me and to my kingdom than thou art. This I know, for I have learnt it not by words, but in deed. And now I purpose to do great things. Come therefore to me in anywise, that I may intrust them to thee.’ So Histiaios went to Sardes, for he was proud that he was to be the king’s counsellor. And Darius said to him, ‘ O Histiaios, there is nothing more precious than a wise and kind friend ; and I know that this thou art to me. So now thou must leave Miletos and thy Thracian city, and

come with me to Sousa. There thou shalt sit at v.
my table, and all that I have shall be thine.' So
Darius left his own brother Artaphernes to be 25
ruler over Sardes, and went with Histiaios to 30
Sousa. And Aristagoras, who was brother-in-law
and cousin to Histiaios, was left to rule in
Miletos.

Now about this time the people of the isle of
Naxos rose up and drove out some of the nobles,
who came to ask help from Aristagoras. But
he said, 'I am not able to conquer the Naxians
by myself; but Artaphernes, who rules in Sardes,
is my friend, and he is the brother of the king.
This man, I think, will do what we desire.' So
he went to Artaphernes, and promised him much 31
money and great gifts if he would let him have
one hundred ships to go against Naxos. And
Artaphernes promised to give him two hundred,
if it should please the king. When Darius heard
it, he was glad; and Artaphernes charged Mega-
bates to go with the ships to Naxos. So he took 32
Aristagoras and the Naxians up from Miletos, 33
and sailed to Chios, that he might cross over from
thence to Naxos. But it happened that there
was no watch kept that night in a Myndian vessel:
and Megabates was wroth, and made them place
the captain of the ship in one of the large oar-
holes, so that his head hung over the side of
the ship. Then Aristagoras went and prayed

- v. Megabates to let the Myndian go ; but he would not. So Aristagoras set him free himself. Then Megabates was yet more angry, but Aristagoras came forth and said, ‘ What hast thou to do with these things ? Hath not Artaphernes sent thee to obey me, and to go whithersoever I may bid thee ? ’ Then Megabates sent secretly to the Naxians, and warned them ; and they brought much food into their city, and made the walls strong, so that the Persians were unable to take it. Presently the money which Megabates brought with him was all spent, and the money of Aristagoras was also gone ; and yet the Naxians were not
35 subdued. So Aristagoras could not fulfil the promise which he made to Artaphernes, and he was greatly troubled, for he knew not how he should be able to pay the men ; and he feared that Megabates was slandering him, that he might not rule any more in Miletos. Wherefore he thought to rebel against the king ; and just at this time there came from Sousa a messenger from Histiaios with marks upon his head, telling him to revolt from the king ; for Histiaios knew not how to tell him safely in any other way, because the roads were guarded. So he shaved the head of the trustiest of his slaves, and marked letters thereon, and waited till the hair was grown ; and then he sent him to Miletos, bidding him only tell Aristagoras to shave off his hair and look at

his head. This did Histiaios because he was wearied at being so long kept in Sousa, and he hoped that, if Aristagoras rebelled, he should be sent down to the sea, but if Miletos revolted not, he never thought to see it again. v.

Then Aristagoras rebelled openly against the 37 king, and he said that he would no more be tyrant in his own city. He put down the tyrants in the other cities also, and made them all free, that they might help him more cheerfully against the king. And when he had done this, he went in a trireme to Lacedæmon, for he needed some great help in this war.

Now at this time Kleomenes, the son of Anax- 39 andridas, was king in Sparta; and Aristagoras 49 came to him, and besought him to help the Ionians, who were men of the same blood. He told him also how easy it was to conquer the Persians, and how they might go to Sousa and plunder the treasures of the great king, and become as rich as Zeus himself. Then Kleomenes said, 'In three days we will give our answer;' and on the third day Kleomenes asked how long 50 time it would take to go to Sousa from the sea; and Aristagoras said, 'Three months.' Then the king said hastily, 'O stranger of Miletos, depart from Sparta before the sun goes down; thou art no friend to the Lacedæmonians, when thou seekest to lead them three months' journey

v. 51 from the sea.' But Aristagoras took an olive-branch in his hand, and went into the house of Kleomenes; and when he saw him, he prayed him to send away his little daughter Gorgo, who was standing by: but Kleomenes bade him think not of the child. Then Aristagoras began to urge him with gifts, beginning with ten talents; and when Kleomenes refused, he went on to more, till he promised him fifty talents, and the child cried out, 'Father, the stranger will corrupt you, unless you rise up and go.' Then Kleomenes went away, and Aristagoras could tell him no more of the journey to the great king.

So he left Sparta and went to Athens, which was now free, for the Athenians had risen up against
55 the sons of Peisistratos, and Hippias had fled with his children away to Sigeion, which is on the banks of the river Skamandros; and there he
96 sought if by any means he might bring Athens under the power of Artaphernes and Darius.

97 Then Aristagoras besought aid from the Athenians, and he urged them so, that at length they promised to send twenty ships, and appointed Melanthios to be the admiral; and these ships were the beginning of evils both to the Greeks
98 and to the barbarians. So Aristagoras sailed back to Asia; and when he came to Miletos, he remained there himself, but he sent his brother Charopinos to lead the Ionians against Sardes.

And when they reached Ephesos, they left their ships in Koressos, and went up thence with a great host, having the Ephesians for their guides. So they went along the banks of the Kaÿstros, and took all Sardes, except the Akropolis which Artaphernes himself held with no small number of men. But the Ionians did not plunder the city when they had taken it. For most of the houses in Sardes were made of reeds, and even those that were built of brick had roofs of reeds. One of these a soldier happened to set on fire, and the flame went from house to house, until it spread over the whole city. Then the Persians and the Lydians ran down to the market-place, which is by the river Paktôlos; and when the Ionians saw this, they were afraid, and retreated fast to the mountain which is called Tmolos; and then, as the night came on, they went away to their ships. v. 100

So Sardes was burnt, and in it a temple of Kybêbê, the goddess of the country; and the Persians always spake of this burning, when they burnt afterwards the temples of the Greeks. Then the Persians followed after the Ionians, and overtook them in Ephesos, and beat them in a battle with great slaughter; and those who escaped from the fight were scattered among the cities. 102

After this, the Athenians altogether forsook 103

v. the Ionians, and would listen no more to the prayers of Aristagoras. But the Ionians went on no less to make war against the king, and subdued Byzantion, and made alliance with the men
104 of Kaunos. And all the Cyprians joined them, except the people of Amathous, who were besieged by Onesilos, the son of Gorgos, because they would not rebel against the king.

105 And when it was told to Darius that Sardes had been taken and burnt by the Athenians and Ionians, and that the man who had guided them and woven these things together was the Milesian Aristagoras, they say that he took no heed to the Ionians, because he well knew that they should not escape for their rebellion, but he asked only who the Athenians were. And when he was told, he called for a bow, and fitted an arrow to it; and as he shot it into the air, he said, 'O Zeus, suffer me to avenge myself on the Athenians.' Then he charged one of his servants to say to him thrice during every meal, 'O king, remember the
106 Athenians.' After this, he summoned Histiaios the Milesian, whom he had now so long kept at Sousa, and said to him, 'O Histiaios, I hear that the man to whom thou hast given thy city has been doing strange things. He has brought over men from Europe to help the Ionians, whom I shall punish; and by their aid he has deprived me of Sardes. How can all this seem good to thee? and without

thy counsels how could such a thing have been done? See that thou bring not thyself into blame afresh.' Then answered Histiaios, 'O king, what hast thou said—that I have devised anything from which harm may come to thee? Why should I do thus, and of what do I stand in need? That which thou hast, I have also; and I am thought worthy to listen to thy counsels. But if Aristagoras is thus doing, be sure that he is doing it of himself. Still, I do not believe the tale at all. Only, if it be true, see what thou hast done by taking me away from the sea; for, when I am out of sight, the Ionians may well do that which they have long wished to do. Had I been there, not one city would have stirred itself. Send me, then, quickly to Ionia, and I will put all things right again, and give Aristagoras into thy hands. Yea, I swear by the gods whom the king worshippeth, that I will not put off the tunic in which I shall go down to Ionia, before I bring under thy power the mighty island of Sardinia.' Then Darius let him go, having charged him to come back again to Sousa when all this should be done. v.

So the war went on; but at length the Cyprians 113 were beaten in a great battle, and having been 116 free for one year, were then made slaves again. Then the Persians took many cities on the Hellespont, and defeated the Karians in two battles, so that Aristagoras was afraid, because he had dis- 124

v. turbed Ionia and was not able to carry out his
126 great counsels. So he gave Miletos in charge to
Pythagoras, a man of great repute among the
citizens; and, taking with him everyone who
wished to go, he sailed to Thrace, and seized on
a part of the country. But as he was going out
from it, he was attacked by the Thracians; and
Aristagoras was destroyed, and all his army.

VI. 1 Now, when Histiaios reached Sardes from Sousa,
Artaphernes asked him why the Ionians had re-
belled against the king; and Histiaios said that he
could not tell, and that he marvelled at all the
things which had happened. But Artaphernes
knew the reason well, and saw that he was deal-
ing craftily; so he said, ‘O Histiaios, thou hast
thus much to do with these matters. Thou didst
sew this sandal, and Aristagoras hath put it on.’
Then Histiaios was afraid, and when the night
2 came he ran away to sea, and fled to Chios. But
5 when he desired to go to Miletos, the people would
not receive him: so he went to Mytilene and got
some ships, and sailed away to Byzantion.

11 But the Ionians would not agree together; and
when there was a battle between them and the
Persians on the sea before Miletos, the Samians
14 fled away treacherously, and the Lesbians followed
them. So the Persians conquered in the fight, and
took Miletos in the sixth year after the rebellion
of Aristagoras; and the people were made slaves.

After this Histiaios went to Thasos, and besieged vi.
the town in that island. But when his men 28
wanted food, he crossed over one day to Atarneus
in the Mysian land; and Harpagos, the Persian
general, took him alive after he had landed, and
slew almost all his army. Now, if Histiaios had 30
been sent away alive to King Darius, he would
not, I think, have suffered any harm, but his tres-
pass would have been forgiven him; but now, for
fear of this, and lest he should again become great
with the king, Artaphernes and Harpagos put him
to death at Sardes, and sent his head to Sousa.
And when Darius heard it, he rebuked them be-
cause they had not brought Histiaios alive; and
he charged them to wash the head and adorn it
well, and to bury it as the head of one who had
done much good to himself and to the Persians.

Thus were the Ionians made slaves for the third 32
time. And after this King Darius made trial of 48
the Greeks, to see whether they were minded to
make war against him or to yield themselves up.
So he sent heralds all over Hellas to ask earth
and water for the king; and others he sent to his
own cities which were on the sea-coast, charging
them to make ready long ships and vessels to carry
horses.

But before this, strange things had happened 67
at Sparta, for the two kings were not friendly
towards each other, and one of them, who was

vi. named Demaratos, was put away from being king ; and he fled away from Sparta to the Medes.

94 So time went on ; and the Persian was accomplishing his own work, for every day his servant bade him remember the Athenians, and the children of Peisistratos were ever at hand to slander them. And Darius named two generals to go to Athens and Eretria,—Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, his own brother's son ; and he charged them to make the men of Athens and Eretria slaves, and to bring them all before him. So these
95 generals set out, and when they came to the Aleïan plain of the Kilikian land, they were joined by all the ships which Darius had ordered his subject cities to make ready. And when they had put all the men and horses on board, they sailed with six hundred triremes to Ionia ; but after that, they did not go along the mainland towards the Hellespont and Thrace, but sailed from Samos through the islands, for they feared the voyage round
44 Mount Athos, because, in the year before, Mar- donios had lost there about three hundred ships
95 and more than twenty thousand men. And they wished also to take Naxos, because they had not
96 been able to take it with Aristagoras ; but as they came near, the Naxians fled from their city, and the Persians made slaves of all that they found in it, and burnt the temples and the town ; and they sailed against the other islands also.

Now the Delians had fled away to Tenos, and Datis would not suffer his ships to anchor at the island, but kept them opposite in Rheneia. And he asked where the men of Delos were, and sent a herald to them, saying, ‘O holy men, why have ye thus fled away? for thus hath it been commanded me of the king, and so is my mind, to hurt not the land in which the two gods were born, neither the country nor any that dwell in it.’ So he offered three hundred talents of incense upon the altar, and sailed away with his army to Eretria, taking with him the Ionians and Æolians. And immediately after this, as the Delians said, the island was shaken for the first time; nor has it ever been shaken since. But this was assuredly a sign from the gods of all the evils that were coming on the earth. vi. 9

But the Eretrians had heard that the Persians were coming; and they sent to Athens to ask for help, and the Athenians gave them four thousand men. But the men of Eretria were divided in their counsels, and some wished to fly to the mountains, and others sought to betray their city to the Persians, hoping each for his reward. And when Aischines the son of Nothon, who was chief among the Eretrians, heard this, he prayed the Athenians to depart to their own land, that they might not perish also; and so they crossed over to Orôpos. Then the Persians came and moored 100

vi. their ships at Tamynai, and Choireai, and Aigilia, and made ready to attack the enemy; but the Eretrians sought only to defend their wall. So the onset began, and for six days there fell many on both sides; and on the seventh Euphorbos and Philagros, men of repute amongst the citizens, betrayed the city to the Persians: and they entered it and plundered the temples and burnt them, in vengeance for the temples which had been burnt in Sardes; and they made the people slaves according to the command of King Darius.

102 After a few days, the Persians sailed onward to Attica, thinking that they would do to the Athenians as they had done to the men of Eretria; and Hippias, the son of Peisistratos, guided them to Marathon, because that was the best place in
103 Attica to encamp with horses. When the Athenians heard this, they also hastened to Marathon; and they had ten generals, of whom the tenth was
104 Miltiades, the son of Kimon, who had lately come from Chersonesos.

105 But before they left the city, the generals had sent to Sparta a herald named Pheidippides, who, as he told the Athenians, met the god Pan upon his
106 journey, when he had come near to Tegea. And on the day after he left Athens, Pheidippides reached Sparta and went to the rulers and said, 'O Lacedæmonians, the Athenians pray you to help them, and not to suffer a most ancient city of the Greeks to be enslaved by barbarians; for Eretria

has been already taken, and Hellas is made weaker by a notable city.' Then the Spartans wished to aid the Athenians, but they could not do so at once without breaking the law, for it was the ninth day of the month, and they could not go out while the moon was not yet full.¹

Thus the Spartans waited till the moon should be full, while Hippias, the son of Peisistratos, guided the barbarians to Marathon. And when the Athenians were drawn out in the sacred ground of Herakles, the Plataians came to their help with all their strength; for the Plataians had given themselves up to the Athenians, and had received much help from them against the Thebans.

But the minds of the generals were divided, and some of them were not willing to fight, for they feared the numbers of the Medes. So Miltiades hastened to the polemarch, Kallimachos of Aphid-

¹ The difficulties in the way of this story are formidable. The distance between Athens and Sparta is 150 miles; and the track is such that over a great part of it the stoutest walker at the present day could not travel at a quicker rate than three miles and a half in the hour. According to the tale the journey was performed within forty-eight hours; and unless the courier set out at midnight and arrived at midnight, and also walked without stopping to sleep, it cannot have been done in much less than this time. As the age of the moon is given, he must have walked in darkness for half the night (at this season nearly as long as the day) even if he took no rest, but it is perhaps impossible to walk for forty-eight hours without sleeping. See an article in the 'Saturday Review,' November 4, 1865, p. 578.

VI. nai, (for the polemarchs in old time voted even as did the generals), and said to him, ‘ It depends on thee, Kallimachos, either to bring Athens into slavery, or to deliver it and leave behind a memorial for all time such as has been left not even by Harmodios and Aristogeiton ; for now are the Athenians in such peril as they have never been in from the time that they were a people ; and if they yield to the Medes, we know what they will suffer at the hands of Hippias ; but if our city gain the victory, it will become the first of all the cities of Hellas. Now, of our generals one half are not willing to fight ; and if we fight not, I fear that the Athenians may follow evil counsels and take the side of the Medes ; but if we fight at once, then, with the equal aid of the gods, I think that we shall be conquerors in the battle. All this depends on thee. If thy mind is as mine is, then is our country free, and our city the first of all in Hellas : but if not, then shall befall us the contrary evils to those good things which I have set before thee.’

110 Thus Miltiades gained over Kallimachos, and it was decreed that they should fight, and each general, as his day of command came, gave it over to Miltiades ; but he chose not to attack them
111 until his own day came. And on that day he drew out the Athenians in battle-array ; and the polemarch Kallimachos (for such was then the law of

the Athenians) led the right wing. Then came the tribes in their order ; and the Plataians were drawn up last upon the left wing. And from this it is that, whenever the Athenians offer solemn sacrifice, the herald prays for all blessings on the Athenians and Plataians together. Now when the army was drawn up, so as to face all the host of the Medes, the middle part of it was only a few men deep and was very weak ; but both the wings were strong.

So, when the victims gave good omen, the Athenians began the onset, and went running towards the barbarians. Now the space between the two armies was not less than two furlongs ; and the Persians, when they saw them coming, made ready to receive them ; but they thought the Athenians mad because, being so few in number, they came on furiously without either bows or horses. Then the Athenians, when they fell upon the barbarians, fought well ; for they were the first Greeks, that I know of, who charged the enemy running and endured the sight of the Median dress, for up to this time the Greeks had dreaded even to hear their name. 112

Long time they fought in Marathon ; and in the middle the barbarians were victorious, where the Persians and the Sakians were drawn up. These broke the centre of the Athenians, and drove them back on the plain ; but the Athenians and Pla- 113

- vi. taians had the best on both the wings. Still they would not follow the barbarians who were running away, but they closed on the enemy who had broken their centre, and fought until they overcame them. Then they went after the Persians as they fled, and slaughtered them until they reached the sea; and then they tried to set the ships of the Persians on fire. In this struggle the
- 114 polemarch Kallimachos fell fighting bravely, and there died also Stesilaos, one of the generals, and Kynegeiros, the son of Euphorion, whose hand was cut off by an axe when he had seized the stern-
- 115 ornament of one of the ships. In this way the Athenians took seven ships; with the rest the barbarians beat out to sea, and, taking up the Eretrian slaves, sailed round Sounion, wishing to
- 116 reach the city before the Athenians could return thither. But the Athenians ran with all speed, and, reaching the city first, encamped in the Herakleion which is in Kynosarges, as they had encamped in the Herakleion at Marathon. And the barbarians lay for a while with their ships off Phaléron, which was at that time the port of the Athenians, and then sailed back to Asia.
- 117 In this battle at Marathon ¹ there died of the

¹ Of the battle of Marathon we must content ourselves with knowing that it was fought and won by the Athenians and Plataians. Of the exact local and military details we cannot speak with any confidence. Later writers had confessedly no

VI.
barbarians about six thousand four hundred men, and of the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two. And in the battle there happened a marvellous thing. As Epizêlos, an Athenian, was fighting bravely, he was struck blind without hurt or wound in all his body, and remained blind ever after; and I have heard him tell how in the battle there stood before him a tall hoplite, whose beard overshadowed all his shield, and that this phantom passed by himself, but slew his comrade.

better means of information than Herodotus. Hippias, we are told, led the Persians to Marathon as being the best ground in Attica for the action of horsemen; but in the battle no cavalry are mentioned. Colonel Leake thinks that the Persian general may have sent away his cavalry to a neighbouring plain with orders to remain motionless in its cantonments. Dr. Thirlwall dismisses the statement of Nepos (that Miltiades protected his position from the attacks of the Persian cavalry by felled trees obstructing the approach) as one which must have been made also by Herodotus if the fact had been known to him. Opinions differ likewise on the reasons for the ill success of the Greek centre; and finally Mr. Grote, remarking that both Colonel Leake and Mr. Finlay try to point out the exact ground occupied by the two armies but differ in the spot chosen, adds that he cannot think that there is sufficient evidence to be had in favour of any spot. *History of Greece*, Part II. ch. xxxvi. But these, after all, are matters of very little moment as compared with the issue and results of the battle. That the great question of Hellenic freedom or barbaric tyranny was settled on this memorable field, that this battle decided the issue of the subsequent invasion, and that the glory of this victory belonged altogether to the men of Athens and Plataiai, are facts which cannot be disputed.

VI. 119 So Datis and Artaphernes sailed away to Asia, and led the Eretrians, whom they had made slaves, up to Sousa. Now King Darius had been very wroth with the men of Eretria, because they had begun the wrong; but when he saw them brought before him as slaves, he did them no harm, but made them to dwell in the Kissian land in his own region which is called Arderikka: and there they were living up to my time, speaking still their old language.

120 Now when the moon was full, the Lacedæmonians set out in haste, and they reached Attica on the third day after they left Sparta. But although they were too late for the battle, still they wished to look upon the Medes. So they went on to Marathon, and saw them; and they praised the Athenians for all that they had done, and went away again to their own home.

VII. 1 So the tale of the battle of Marathon was told to King Darius the son of Hystaspes. And, though he had been very bitter against the Athenians because they had taken Sardes, yet now he was much more wroth, and desired yet more eagerly to go against Hellas. And straightway he sent heralds to all the cities, and bade them make ready an army, and to furnish much more than they had done before, both ships and horses and corn. And while the heralds were going round, all Asia was shaken for three years; but

in the fourth year the Egyptians, who had been made slaves by Cambyses, rebelled against the Persians, and then the king sought only the more vehemently to go both against the Egyptians and against the Greeks. So he named Xerxes his son to be king over the Persians after himself, and made ready for the march : but in the year after the revolt of Egypt, Darius himself died, having reigned in all six-and-thirty years ; nor was he suffered to punish the Athenians, or the Egyptians who had rebelled against him. VII.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COUNCIL OF XERXES.—HIS DREAM AND ITS ISSUE.—
 THE TALE OF PYTHIOS, HIS RICHES, AND CHILDREN.—
 THE MARCH OF THE ARMY AND THE PASSAGE OF THE
 HELLESPONT.

χρυσογόνου γενεᾶς ἰσόθεος φῶς.
 κυανοῦν δ' ὄμμασι λεύσσω φονίου δέργμα δράκοντος,
 πολύχειρ καὶ πολυναύτης Σύριόν θ' ἄρμα διώκων,
 ἐπάγει δουρικλύτοις ἀνδράσι τοξόδαμνον Ἄρη.

ÆSCHYLUS.

Herodotus
 VII. 5

WHEN Xerxes became king in the stead of Darius his father, he sought not at all to go against the Athenians first, and he made ready his army for Egypt. But there was with him a Persian whom he had in great honour, Mardonios the son of Gobryas, who was cousin to Xerxes and son of the sister of Darius. And he came to the king and said: 'O king, it is not seemly that the Athenians, who have done much wrong to the Persians, should not suffer for their evil doing. Still do now that which thou hast in hand; and when thou hast subdued Egypt, then go against Athens, that men may speak well of thee, and that none

may dare henceforth to come against thy land.' VII.
Thus he urged the king, and he added also that Europe was a very fair country, rich in trees and fruits, and that no man ought to possess it but the great king.

But Mardonios spoke thus chiefly because he ⁶ desired a new order of things and wished to be himself the ruler of Hellas. And in time he prevailed on Xerxes to do this, for other things happened which worked together for this end. There came heralds from the Aleuadai, who were princes of Thessaly, inviting the king; and the children of Peisistratos came to Sousa, bringing with them an Athenian soothsayer named Onomakritos, who urged him on with oracles from Mousaios. This man said nothing of any oracles which spoke of hurt to the barbarian, but told him only that a Persian was destined to make a bridge over the Hellespont, and how he should march against Hellas.

So, in the second year after the death of Darius, ⁷ Xerxes marched with his army against Egypt; and when he had subdued the whole land and made its slavery worse than it had been under his father, he gave it to his brother 'Achaimenes to rule over, whom afterwards Inarôs, the son of Psammitichos the Libyan, slew. After this, before ⁸ he gathered his armies to go against Athens, Xerxes called together the chiefest of the Persians,

- vii. that he might learn their judgments and tell them his will. And when they were assembled, Xerxes said: 'O Persians, I am not going to bring before you any new custom, but I only adopt that which I have received; for, as I learn from our elders, we have never been at rest from the time that we took the chief power from the Medes, when Cyrus dethroned Astyages. So the god leads us on, and good fortune ever attends us. But of those nations which Cyrus and Cambyzes and my father Darius subdued, I need not speak, for ye know them well. And since I received the throne, I have striven not to fall behind them in this honour nor to acquire less power for the Persians. Nor do I think that I have failed. Wherefore I have now called you together, that I may tell you of the things which I am minded to do. I purpose to make a bridge over the Hellespont and to march with my army through Europe against Hellas, to punish the Athenians for all the evils that they have done to me and to my father. Now ye know that my father was making ready to go against these men. But he is dead, neither was he permitted to punish them; and therefore, on his behalf and on that of the Persians, I will never cease before I take and burn Athens, because they began the wrong. First they came to Sardes with Aristagoras the Milesian, my slave, and burnt the temples and the groves; and what wrongs they did

to those whom Datis and Artaphernes led against them to Marathon, ye all know. Therefore am I determined to march against them; and I think that we shall gain much by going, for if we conquer these men and their neighbours who dwell in the land of Pelops the Phrygian, we shall give to the power of the Persians the wide bounds of heaven. The sun shall look upon no border-lands to ours, but I will make all nations to be one country for you, when I have passed through the whole of Europe. For I believe that no city and no nation will dare to face us in battle, as soon as these men have been put out of the way; and so the innocent and the guilty shall bear our yoke alike. And now if ye do thus, ye will please me well. Come, all of you, readily and quickly, when I name the day for meeting; and the man who comes with the best equipments, I will repay with the most honourable gifts. But that I may not appear to follow my own counsels, I place the matter before you, that all, who will, may give their judgment.

VII.

Then Mardonios answered: 'O king, not only art thou the best of all Persians that have lived, but of all that ever shall be; for thou hast given the best and truest counsel, and wilt not suffer the Ionians who dwell in Europe to mock us. Strange indeed would it be if, when from mere lust of power we have made slaves of the Sakai and the Indians,

VII the Ethiopians and Assyrians and other nations who never did us wrong, we should fail to punish the Athenians who have begun the quarrel. For what do we fear? Is it their number? is it their wealth or their power? We know their way of fighting, we know their weakness, and we have conquered their kinsfolk, who dwell in our land and are called Ionians and Æolians and Dorians. Yea, even I myself marched against these men at thy father's bidding; and though I came as far as Macedonia and so was but a little way from Athens, not one of them came out against me to battle. Yet these Greeks, I hear, are wont to make wars utterly without counsel,—so mad and so blind are they,—for, when they have declared war, they choose out the richest and the fairest spot, and thither they go and fight, so that the conquerors gain only evil. Of the conquered I speak not: they are utterly destroyed. Now these men, as speaking the same language, ought to settle their quarrels by words and messengers, and in any way rather than by fighting; but if fight they must, they should choose out those spots to fight in where it may be hardest to reach each other. And so, because they are thus mad, they never came out to meet me, though I went as far as Macedonia. And now will anyone dare to face thee, O king, with thy great army from Asia and all thy ships? Sure I am that the Greeks are not so desperate.

But if I am wrong, and in their rash folly they VII.
come out to battle, they will find that of all men
we are the bravest. Still we must leave nothing
untried, for things come not of their own accord,
but follow always the efforts of men.'

So Mardonios, having ended his flattery, sat 10
down; and all the Persians kept silence, nor did
any dare to give another judgment, until Artabanos,
the son of Hystaspes, the uncle of Xerxes,
rose up and said: 'O king, none can choose the
better judgment, unless two have been set forth;
even as we cannot distinguish pure gold by itself,
but when we place it with other gold, then we
see which is the better. Now I urged my brother
Darius, thy father, not to march against the
Scythians, who have no city in all their land.
But he thought that he could conquer these
wandering tribes, and would not listen to me.
So he went, and lost many brave men, and came
home again. But thou, O king, art going against
men much better than the Scythians,—men who
are said to be most brave and strong both by sea
and land. And it is right that I should say why
we ought to fear them. Thou sayest that thou
wilt make a bridge over the Hellespont, and
carry thine army through Europe against Hellas:
and so may we be beaten either by land or by
sea, or even on both; for the men are said to
be strong, and it would seem that they are, if

v l. by themselves alone the Athenians destroyed the great host that landed with Datis and Artaphernes at Marathon. Yet in that fight they conquered only by land; but if they beat us by sea also and sail to the Hellespont and break up the bridge, then it becomes terrible indeed. Yet it is no wisdom of my own that teaches me this, but the thought of that mishap which all but overtook us when thy father made a bridge over the Thracian Bosporos and the river Istros, and went against the Scythians: for with all their might the Scythians prayed the Ionians, who were guarding the bridge, to unloose it; and if Histiaios, the tyrant of Miletos, had followed then the counsel of the other tyrants, the Persians would have been utterly destroyed. Still it is fearful even to hear that the fate of the king was in one man's hand. Rush not then into so great a danger, when there is no need; but heed my words. Send away this assembly, and when thou hast thought over these matters again, then proclaim thy judgment. To take good counsel is indeed a gain; for even if anything goes against it, none the less was the good counsel taken, but it hath been overborne by chance. But the man who has counselled ill, if he prosper, receives a godsend; yet none the less was his counsel evil. Thou seest how the deity smites those creatures which hold themselves high, but

the little ones do not trouble him at all ; and how the lightning falls on the highest houses and the tallest trees, for the haughty things are ever made to bow down. So may a great army be destroyed by a little one, for when fear enters their heart, they perish shamefully ; for the deity will suffer none to have proud thoughts but himself. So, then, to urge on matters will bring mishaps, and from these great hurt may follow ; but in delay there is good, which time will discover, even if we may not be able to see it now. Such is my counsel to thee, O king. But thou, Mardonios, son of Gobryas, speak no more vain words about the Greeks, who deserve not to be evil spoken of ; for by thy slanders thou movest the king yet more to go against them—and this, I think, is the very reason of thy counsel. Let it not be so any more, for slander is a terrible thing. In it there are two who do wrong, and one who suffers it ; for the slanderer injures an absent man by his words, and he who listens does wrong if he is persuaded without clear knowledge ; and the absent man receives a double wrong, in being slandered by one man, and in being thought evil of by another. But if an army *must* go against these men, come—let the king remain in the land of the Persians, and let us both put our children to the venture. Then go thou with thy chosen men, and take as

vii. great an army as it may please thee to have. And if the issue be what thou hast said, then let my children be slain, and let me die also; but if it turn out as I have said, then let thy children be killed, and thyself also if thou return. And if thou likest not this but still in any case wilt lead an army against Hellas, then some of those who remain behind will hear some day that Mardonios, after great mischief done to the Persians, and torn to pieces by dogs and birds in the land of the Athenians or Lacedæmonians, if not before by the way, found out against what sort of men he besought the king to march.'

11 Then was Xerxes very wroth, and said: 'O Artabanos, thou art my father's brother. This shall save thee from the meet reward of thy vain words. And yet this shame do I put upon thee for thy meanness and faintness of heart, that thou shalt not go with me against Hellas, but remain at home with the women. I can do all that I have said without thee; for may I not be sprung from Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames, the son of Ariaramnes, the son of Teïspes, the son of Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, the son of Teïspes, the son of Achaimenes, if I take not vengeance upon the Athenians. Sure I am that if we be still, yet will not they, but will the rather come against our land, if we may judge from what they have already done. They

have burnt Sardes and marched into Asia. It is not possible, therefore, that either should draw back; but there is a struggle before both, to do and to suffer,—that all our lands may be under the Greeks, or all their country under the Persians; for there is no middle path in our enmity. It is good, therefore, that we, who have suffered beforehand, should punish them, and that so I may learn what that evil is which I shall suffer when I march against these men, whom even Pelops the Phrygian, the slave of my father, so subdued, that their land and all that dwell in it are called still by his name.’

So the council was ended; and the night came on, and the words of Artabanos troubled Xerxes. And as he listened to the voice of the night,¹ he learnt that he ought in no wise to march against Hellas; and when he had thus fixed his mind, he fell asleep. Then in his sleep he saw a vision, as the Persians say; and he thought that there stood over him a man fair and tall, who said, ‘Dost thou repent, O Persian, from leading an army against Hellas, when thou hast charged thy

¹ I should not wish this expression to be taken as a translation of the somewhat unusual phrase *νυκτὶ βουλὴν διδοῦς*—although a meaning not unlike it has been assigned to the phrase by some interpreters. (See the note of Bähr on the passage.) Here, however, as elsewhere, it is not my object to furnish an exact translation, or to be fettered by the conditions which must of necessity be imposed upon all translations.

- vii. people to gather their hosts together? Thou doest not well in thy change of counsel, neither is there any who will forgive thee. Go thou on the road in the which thou didst purpose to walk on the day that is past.' And when he had said this, 13 he vanished away. But when the day dawned, Xerxes took no heed of the dream; but he called the Persians together again, and said, 'Forgive me, O Persians, that my counsel is changed. When I heard the judgment of Artabanos, my spirit grew hot within me, as in youth it is wont to do; and I spake unseemly words towards an aged man. Now, therefore, I shall follow his mind; and be ye all still, for I purpose no longer to go against Hellas.' When the Persians heard 14 this, they rejoiced and did obeisance. But when it was night, again the same vision stood over Xerxes as he slept, and said, 'So now, son of Darius, thou hast changed thy purpose in the sight of the Persians, and hast put aside my words as though they had never been spoken. But be thou sure that if thou set not out forthwith, as thou hast become great and mighty in a little while, so in a little while shalt thou be made low.'
- 15 And Xerxes rose in fear and sprang from his couch, and sent a messenger to call Artabanos; and when he was come, he said, 'O Artabanos, I spoke rash and vain words to thee at the first in return for thy good counsel; but in a little while

I knew that I ought to do that which thou didst desire. And yet I cannot do so, although I wish it; for a vision comes to me in my sleep, and will not suffer me thus to act. Even now has it threatened me and departed. Now if it be a god who sends it, and if it must be that an army go against Hellas, then the same vision will come to thee and give thee the like charge. Therefore put thou on all my dress, and sit first upon my throne, and afterwards sleep upon my couch.' But Artabanos would not at the first, because he¹⁶ did not think himself worthy to sit on the king's throne, but at length he said, 'To be wise, O king, and to obey the man who gives good counsel, seems to me the same thing. Thou hast both these virtues, but thou hast been deceived by the conversation of wicked men,—as the sea, they say, which is most useful to men, is not suffered to show its own nature by the winds that fall upon it. Nor did it so much grieve me to be evil spoken of by thee, as that thou shouldest choose the worse opinion when two were laid before the Persians, seeing that the one puffed up pride and the other taught that man should not be ever greedy after more than has been given to him. But now that thou art turned to the safer judgment, and hast renounced the journey to Hellas, thou sayest that there comes to thee a vision from heaven, which suffers thee not to

vii. change thy purpose. Yet can this scarcely be, my son. The dreams which in their wanderings come to men, are such as I shall show thee who am many years thine elder. In sleep there come to us for the most part the visions of those things on which we have thought most during the day ; and we for many days have been much intent upon this expedition. But if it be not as I suppose, but rather something divine, then thy words are rightly spoken. So let it appear to me, and give me the same charge. Yet if it must come, it ought to come to me no more if I put on thy dress than if I wear my own, and if I rest on thy couch than if I sleep on my own. For that which comes to thee in thy sleep, whatever it be, is surely not so silly as to think, on seeing me, that it looks upon thee, judging by thy vesture. If then, refusing to appear to me, it shall return to thee many times, I should say that it was sent from heaven. But if thy purpose is fixed that I must sleep on thy couch, so let it come even to me. In the meanwhile I shall remain in my present mind.'

17 So spake Artabanos, for he hoped to show that the vision was nought ; and he put on the king's robe and sat down on his throne, and thence went unto his couch. And the Dream of Xerxes came and stood over him, saying, 'Art thou he that movest Xerxes from going against Hellas, as though thou carest for him? But neither now

nor hereafter shalt thou go unscathed, if thou
seekest to turn aside that which must be; and
what Xerxes must suffer if he obey not, has been
already shown to him.' Then the Dream ap- 18
peared as though it were about to sear out his
eyes with hot irons; and Artabanos cried aloud
and leapt up, and told Xerxes of the vision, say-
ing moreover, 'O king, as a man who has seen
many great and mighty things yield to that which
is mean, I was not willing that thou shouldest in
all things follow the temper of thine age, for I
knew that greediness is an evil thing, and I
remembered how Cyrus fared when he went
against the Massagetæ, and the march of Cam-
byses against the Æthiopians, and how I followed
Darius against the Scythians; and I thought
that, if thou couldst but remain at rest, thy lot
would be held blessed by all mankind. But thou
art urged on by a dream from heaven, and de-
struction is prepared for the Greeks. Therefore is
my own mind changed within me. Show then to
the Persians what hath come to thee from heaven,
and charge them to do as thou didst bid them at
the first. See also that on thy part there may be
nothing wanting.' So in the morning the king
told all this with gladness to the Persians, and
Artabanos now urged on the things which he had
spoken against before.

And yet another vision came to Xerxes, from 19

vii. which the Magians judged that all the earth should be subdued before the king. Xerxes dreamed that he was crowned with an olive wreath, and from the olive sprang forth branches overshadowing all the earth; and presently the wreath that was around his head withered away. Then every man of the princes of the Persians went unto his own land, and made haste to gather all his men together, if so he might win the prize which the
20 king had promised. And so was the armament brought together in such sort that all that went before it was as nothing in comparison,—even the armies that had marched against the Scythians, or the hosts which the sons of Atreus led against
21 Troy. For what of all the nations of Asia did not the king lead against Hellas? and what streams failed not, as his army drank of them, save only the great rivers?

Now, because the ships that went with Mar- donios the son of Gobryas had suffered much hurt when they tried to sail round Mount Athos, they worked in that part for three years beforehand, and dug a great canal across the isthmus which joins Mount Athos to the mainland; and the people
24 worked under the lash. This canal the king commanded to be made, to show his greatness and to leave a memorial behind him; for when without trouble they might have drawn the ships over the isthmus, he charged them to dig a canal so wide

that they might row two triremes abreast through it. And they who dug the canal were commanded also to make a bridge over the river Strymon. vii.

So all things were made ready, and stores of food were laid up at all places where it was needful to place it, and chiefly at the White Shore of the Thracian land, at Tyrodiza, at Doriskos, and at Eïon, which is on the river Strymon. And in the meanwhile all the foot soldiers marched with the king to Sardes, having set out from Kritalla in Kappadokia; for there it had been ordered that all the army should come to meet the king. But which of the princes furnished the best armament, I cannot tell, nor do I know whether they came to any trial in the matter. 25

Then they crossed the river Halys and came to Kelainai, where are the sources of the Maiandros [Mæander] and the Katarraktes. And in this city a Lydian named Pythios, the son of Atys, received the king and all his army with much feasting, and desired to furnish money for the war. Then Xerxes asked who this man was that he should do thus, and they said, ‘This is he, O king, who gave to thy father Darius the golden plane-tree and the vine, and who after thee is the richest of all men.’ At this Xerxes marvelled, and asked Pythios what his wealth might be; and Pythios said, ‘I will tell thee the truth, O king. When I heard that thy army was coming, I wished to give money for 27
28

- vii. the war, and I counted up my riches, and found that I had two thousand talents of silver and four hundred myriads of golden statêrs lacking seven thousand. All this I give to thee, for I can live
29 by my slaves and by my land.' Then was Xerxes greatly pleased, and said that he had found none so well-minded to himself before. Wherefore he made Pythios his friend, and would take no money from him, but gave him seven thousand pieces of gold that he might have the full tale of four hundred myriads.
- 30 So the king went on his way, and passing by the city of Anaua he came to Kolossai, a great city of Phrygia; and when they were near Kallatêbos, Xerxes saw a plane-tree which seemed to him so fair that he gave to it a golden wreath and left a man to take care of it, and then he went on to
32 Sardes. And from Sardes he sent heralds into Hellas to ask for earth and water and to bid them make ready to receive the king. Only to Athens and Lacedæmon he sent not. But to the others he sent, because he thought that all would give it now who had not given it to Darius his father.
- 33 Now his servants had made a bridge across the Hellespont, between Sestos and Madytos, near
34 Abydos; but a great storm came and broke it to
35 pieces and scattered it. Then was Xerxes very wroth, and commanded to scourge the Hellespont with three hundred lashes and to cast a pair of

fetters into the sea. He sent branders also, as VII.
some say, to brand the Hellespont; and he charged
them to rebuke the water and cry unto it, 'O
bitter water, thus doth the king punish thee, be-
cause without wrong from him thou hast done him
harm. But Xerxes the king will pass over thee,
whether thou wilt or whether thou wilt not; and
surely thou deservest no sacrifice, for thou art a
false and briny river.' Thus he charged them to
smite the sea, and to cut off the heads of the men
who had been over the work. So they who re- 36
ceived this charge performed their thankless task,
while others made a new bridge with much labour
and toil, and placed earth all over it, and raised a
hedge on either side, that the horses and cattle
might not be frightened by seeing the sea as they
passed over it.

So when all things were ready and the spring 37
was now come, the army left Sardes to go to
Abydos; and as they were going, the sun left its
place in the heaven, and, although there were
no clouds, it became night instead of day. And
as Xerxes saw this, he was troubled and asked
the Magians what this sign might mean; and
they said that it foretold to the Greeks the fall
of their cities, because the sun gave warnings to
the Greeks, but the moon to the Persians.

Then Xerxes went on his way exulting; but 38
Pythios the Lydian was frightened by the sign of

VII. the sun, and he said to the king, 'O king, grant me that which I shall ask, for it is but a little thing for thee to give.' And Xerxes bade him say on; and he answered, 'O king, I have five sons, and they are all in thy army. But I am an old man; wherefore pity me, and leave the eldest of my children that he may take care of me and of my 39 riches.' Then was Xerxes angry, and said, 'O wretched man, I am going against Hellas, taking with me my children and servants and friends; and dost thou who art my slave, and oughtest to follow me with all thy house, dare to speak of thy son? Yet will I do to thee less than what thou dost deserve.' Then he commanded that they should take the oldest of the sons of Pythios and cut his body in two pieces, and place half on either side of the road; and so the army marched between them, a very great multitude, with ser-
40 vants and cattle. When half had passed there was a space left; and behind it there came a thousand chosen horsemen of the Persians, and a thousand chosen spear-bearers with their lances turned towards the ground, and then ten sacred Nisaian horses with beautiful trappings. Behind these came the sacred chariot of Zeus, drawn by eight white horses, and their driver walked behind them holding the reins, for no man may go up upon this chariot. Then came the king himself
41 on a chariot drawn by Nisaian horses, and there

followed him a thousand of the noblest of the VII.
 Persians bearing spears, and a numberless host
 came after them of spearmen and archers and
 horsemen; and all that followed the army were
 mingled in the rear.

So they went on, and tarried for a night under 42
 Mount Ida, where a storm of thunder and light-
 ning slew a great multitude. And when they 43
 reached the Skamandros, of which the stream failed
 as the army drank of it, Xerxes desired to see the
 Pergamos of Priam; and he went up and offered
 to Athênê a thousand cows, and the Magians
 poured libations to the heroes; and because they
 did this at night, the army who saw it afar off
 were sore afraid. .

But when they reached Abydos, Xerxes desired 44
 to see all his army: and he sat upon a seat of
 white stone which had been made ready for him;
 and he beheld the army on the shore, and the
 ships, and as he looked he desired to see a
 battle among the ships. So it was done, and
 the Phœnicians of Sidon conquered. Then was
 the king pleased with the fight and with the army,
 and as he saw the Hellespont hidden by the ships 45
 and all the shore and the plains of Abydos full
 of men, Xerxes called himself a happy man, and
 after that he wept. But when his uncle Artabanos, 46
 who had besought him at the first not to go
 against Hellas, saw this, he marvelled and said,

VII. 'O king, thou doest strange things; even now thou didst call thyself happy, and then thou weepst.' And the king answered, 'Thought came upon me and sorrow for the shortness of the life of man, because, after a hundred years, of all this great host not one shall remain alive.' But Artabanos said, 'There are other things more woful than this, for there is no man so happy but what he will often wish to die rather than to live. The sorrows that come upon us, and the diseases that trouble us, make our life which is short appear long, and therefore from so much wretchedness death becomes the best refuge; and heaven, if it gives us a taste of happiness, yet is
47 found to be but a jealous giver.' And Xerxes said to Artabanos, 'Let us speak no more of mortal life, which is even as thou sayest; nor let us bring evil things to mind, when we have a good work in our hands. But tell me this: if thou hadst not seen the vision clearly, wouldst thou have kept thine old counsel, or wouldst thou have changed? Tell me the truth.' Then said Artabanos, 'May the dream be accomplished as we both desire, yet am I still full of care and anxious, because I see that two very mighty
48 things are most hostile to thee.' And the king asked, 'What may these things be? Will the army of the Greeks be more in number than mine, or will our ships be fewer than theirs? for

if it be so, we will quickly bring yet another host together.' And he answered, 'O king, no one 49
who has sense could find fault either with thy
army or with thy ships; and if more be gathered
together, the two things become yet more hostile,
and these are the land and the sea. The sea has
no harbour which, if a storm come, can shelter so
many ships. And yet there is need not merely of
one haven, but of many along the whole coast
where we must sail. Chance rules men, and men
cannot control chance. The land too is hostile,
and if nothing resists thee it becomes yet more
hurtful the further that we may go; for men are
never satisfied with good fortune, and so the
length of the journey must at last bring about
a famine. Now that man is bravest who is timid
in counsel and bold in action.' And Xerxes an- 50
swered, 'Thou speakest well, Artabanos. Yet of
what use is it to count up all these things? for if
we were always to be weighing every chance, we
should never do anything at all. It is better to
be bold and suffer half the evil, than, by fearing
all things, to escape all suffering. And how can a
man find certainty in counsel? Surely advantage
follows action; and good fortune comes not to
those who will make no venture. See how great
is the power of the Persians. If the kings who
have gone before me had followed counsellors
like thee, it would never have been as it is now.

vii. But they faced the danger and gained this dominion, for great things must be compassed by great risks. We then, like them, go forth at the fairest season of the year, and when we have subdued all Europe we will return home, having been vexed neither by famine nor by any other evil. We carry great store of food with us, and we will take the corn of the lands through which we shall pass; for we march not against wandering tribes, but against men who live by tillage.'

51 Then said Artābanos, 'Though thou fearest nothing, O king, yet receive my counsel; for weighty matters need many words. Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, brought all Ionia, save only Athens, to pay tribute to the Persians. Send not then these men in any way against their fathers, for even without them we shall be able to conquer. If they go, they must either be most unjust in enslaving the land from which they spring, or most just by setting it free. If they are unjust, our gain is but little; but if they are just, they can do us great harm. Think then on the old saying, that the end of a work is not always clear at the
52 beginning.' But the king answered, 'O Artābanos, in this thou art most of all deceived; for thou and all who went with Darius against the Scythians know that it lay with these Ionians to save or destroy the whole army of the Persians. But they were faithful and did us no harm; and

besides this, their wives, their children, and their substance are all with us. Wherefore be of good courage, and guard for me my house and my empire, for to thee alone do I commit my sceptre.' ⁵³ vii.

So Xerxes sent Artabanos away to Sousa, and called together the chief of the Persians, and said to them, 'Be strong, O Persians, and of great courage, and shame not the deeds of your fathers. We are marching against brave men, and if we conquer these, there are none on the face of the earth who will be able to stand against us. Now then let us cross over, when we have prayed to the gods who guard the Persian land.'

So that day they made ready to cross; and on ⁵⁴ the day after, they waited till the sun was risen, and offered up all kinds of perfumes on the bridge and strewed myrtle branches along the road. And when the sun rose, Xerxes poured wine from a golden cup into the sea, and prayed to the Sun that no harm might happen unto him which might prevent him from conquering all Europe. Then he threw the cup into the Hellespont with a golden goblet and a Persian dagger. But whether he offered these to the sun, or whether he gave them to the sea, because it repented him that he had scourged it, I cannot tell.

So they crossed over, first a thousand Persians ⁵⁵ with crowns upon their heads, and then the mingled throng of all the nations. These went on the first

vii. day, and on the second day the horsemen and the spear-bearers with their lances turned towards the ground ; and these also had crowns upon their heads. And after them came the sacred horses and chariot, and the king himself with his spear-
56 men and the thousand horsemen ; and the rest of the army followed. So Xerxes saw his host cross under the lash of those who drove them, and they were seven days and seven nights in passing over ; and when they had crossed, a man of the Hellespont said, ‘ O Zeus, why wilt thou, in the likeness of a Persian and calling thyself by the name of Xerxes, uproot all Hellas, leading against it all the race of man ? for even without these thou mightest do this.’

59 And while the army passed, the ships also crossed over, and they all met at Doriskos in Thrace ; and there the army was numbered, and all the host was one hundred and seventy myriads of men. All the nations of the earth were there, and every fashion of raiment was to be seen, and all kinds of weapons,—Persians and Medes and Kissians, Baktrians, Sakai, and Hyrkanians, and the peoples of Assyria, of India and Arabia, the Parthians and Chorasmians, and many others. And some went on foot, and some on horses, and each fought after the fashion of his own people. And there were twelve hundred ships of the Phœnicians and Egyptians, and from the Lykians

and Kilikians, from the Dorians and Ionians, vii.
and from the islands. And in all the ships 96
there were soldiers of the Persians and Sakai and
Medes.

When the hosts were numbered, the king went 100
through them upon a chariot, nation by nation,
and asked their names, and his scribes wrote them
down, until he came to the end. After this he
went into a ship of Sidon, and sailed in front of
all the ships, and their names and numbers he
caused to be written down also.

Then the king sent for Demaratos, the son of 101
Ariston, who went with him against Hellas, and
said to him, ‘Demaratos, thou art a Greek, and,
as I hear, of no mean city. Now therefore tell me,
will the Greeks lift up their hands against me?
for it seems to me that if they were gathered to-
gether with all the dwellers of the West, they
would not be able to fight with me, because they
agree not one with the other. Still I would hear
what thou hast to say about them.’ Then said
Demaratos, ‘O king, shall I speak the truth, or only
that which is pleasant?’ And the king charged him
to say truly, for that he should be not less dear than
he was before. Then Demaratos answered, ‘Know 102
then, O king (since thou wishest me to speak that
which is no lie), that poverty always dwells with
the Greeks; but courage they have won from wis-
dom and the strength of law, by which they keep

vii. off both poverty and tyranny. But, though all the Greeks are worthy of praise, yet now I speak of the Lacedæmonians only. Be sure that these will never receive thy words which bring slavery to Hellas, and that they will come out against thee to battle, even though all the rest should take thy side; neither ask thou what their numbers are that they should dare to do this, for if a thousand set out, these will fight with thee, be
103 they more or be they less.' And Xerxes laughed and said, 'O Demaratos, sayest thou that a thousand men will fight with my great army? Tell me now—thou wast once their king—wilt thou fight straightway with ten men? Yet if each of them will match ten men of mine, thou, their king, shouldst match twenty. And so might thy words be true. But if in size they are like all other Greeks whom I have seen, see that thy speech be not vain boasting. Come and let us reason upon it. How could a thousand or a myriad or five myriads, who are all free and not ruled by one man, withstand so great a host? Nay, we are even more than a thousand to one, even if they be five thousand. If, according to our custom, they were ruled by one, then, through fear of this one, they would become brave beyond their own nature, and being driven by the scourge would go against a larger host than their own. But now, left to their own freedom, they will do none of these things. Still, I think that,

even if their numbers were equal, they could not withstand the Persians alone. But I too have what thou speakest of, though it be but rare; for among my spear-bearers are men who will fight with three Greeks at once. Wherefore in thine ignorance thou speakest foolishly.' But Demaratos said, 'I knew at the first, O king, that the truth would not please thee. But since thou hast compelled me, I have spoken of the Spartans as I ought to speak. What love I bear to them, thou knowest well. They have robbed me of my power and of my honours, and driven me to a strange land; and thy father received me and gave me a house and food. Is it likely then that I should put aside the kindness which he showed to me? I say not indeed that I am able to fight with ten men or with two, nor willingly would I fight with one; but if I must fight, and if the stake were great, then would I choose to fight with one of those whom thou thinkest equal to three Greeks. So, too, the Lacedæmonians one by one are as strong as other men, but, taken together, they are strongest of all, for, though they are free, yet are they not without a lord. Law is their master, whom they fear much more than thy people fear thee. So they do whatsoever it commands: and it commands always the same thing, charging them never to fly from any enemy, how strong soever he be, but remain in their ranks and conquer or die.

VII.104

vii If now I seem to speak foolishly, let me keep silence for the time to come, for I have spoken only at thy bidding. Yet may all things go as
05 thou desirest.' Then Xerxes laughed again and was not at all angry, but sent him away kindly.

108 So the army went onwards, and all those whom they met they compelled to go with them; and
113 when they came to the river Strymon, the Ma-
114 gians offered to it white horses in sacrifice; and at the place called the Nine Roads, they buried alive nine youths and maidens, children of the people of the land. This they did after the fashion of the Persians, even as Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, when she grew old, buried alive fourteen youths, sons of chief men among the Persians, to do honour to the god who dwells beneath the earth.

118 Now wherever the king and the army came, they ate up all the wealth of the land, and left nothing behind them. And when they were come into Mygdonia, lions fell upon the camels who carried the corn. These came down by night, and touched neither man nor beast, but the camels
131 only. And the king abode many days in Pieria, until the heralds who had been sent into Hellas came back—some empty, and some bearing earth and water.

132 Now many of the Greeks had given earth to the king, and among them were the people of

Thessaly and Phthiotis, the Lokrians and Magnesians, and all the Bœotians, except only the men of Thespiæ and Plataiæ; and against these the other Greeks swore with an oath that they would be avenged on them when the war should be over. But to Athens and Sparta the king¹³³ sent no heralds, because, when heralds came to them from Darius his father, they threw some of them into a dungeon and others into a ditch, and bade them thence to bear earth and water to the king. vii.

So they who gave earth were of good courage;¹³⁸ and they who gave not, feared greatly, because of the treachery of the others, and because they had not ships enough to go out against the fleet of the Persians.

And so it was that, if the Athenians had feared¹³⁹ the coming danger and left their country, or, even without leaving it, had yielded themselves up to Xerxes, none else would have dared to withstand the king by sea. And on the land this would have been the issue: even if many walls had been raised across the Isthmus, the Lacedæmonians would have been forsaken by their allies, as they yielded one by one to the Persians in their ships. And so, after doing brave deeds, they might have died nobly; or else, seeing all the others yielding to the Mede, would have done likewise: and so in both ways Hellas would have

- vii. come under the rule of the Persians, for I cannot see how the Isthmian walls would have helped them, when the king had the power by sea. But now may we rightly call the Athenians the saviours of Hellas, for with them was the scale of things to turn. And they chose that Hellas should continue free, and raised up and cheered all those who yielded not to the barbarian. Thus, next after the Gods, they drove away the king, because they feared not the oracles from Delphi, neither were they scared by the great perils which were coming upon their country.

CHAPTER V.

THE ORACLES OF DELPHI, AND THE COUNSELS OF THEMISTOKLES.—THE EMBASSIES TO ARGOS AND TO SYRACUSE.
—LEONIDAS AT THERMOPYLAI.

Τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων
εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἅ τύχα,
καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος,
βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος,
πρὸ γόων δὲ μνᾶστις,
ὁ δ' οἶτος ἔπαινος·
ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον
οὔτ' εὐρὺς, οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ
ἁμαυρώσει χρόνος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.

SIMONIDES.

Now the Athenians had sent messengers to consult the god at Delphi; and when they were come thither and had offered sacrifice, the priestess Aristonikê made answer to them, and said :

Herodotus.
VII. 140.

‘O wretched people, why sit ye still? Leave your homes and strongholds of your city, and flee away.

‘For head and body, feet and hands, nothing is sound, but all is wretched.

VII. 'For fire and war, which are hastening hither in a Syrian chariot, will presently make it low.

'And other strong places also shall they destroy, and not yours only.

'And many temples of the undying gods shall they give to the flame.

'Down their walls the big drops are streaming, as they tremble for fear.

'And from their roofs the black blood is poured down, for the sorrow that is coming.

'But go ye from my holy place, and brace up your hearts for the evil.'¹

141 When the messengers heard these words, they were greatly afraid. But Timon, the son of Androboulos, a great man among the Delphians, when he saw them thus utterly cast down, bade them take olive-branches and go again to the god. So they went, and said, 'O king, look upon us who come now as suppliants, and tell us something better about our country, for, if not, we will stay here till we die.'

Then the priestess spake and answered them: 'Pallas cannot prevail with Zeus who dwells on Olympus, though she has besought him with many prayers.

¹ *κακοῖς ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.* The passage is ambiguous, and its meaning has been disputed. See Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. v. p. 82; Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 294; and Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 119.

‘And his word, which I now tell you, is firmly fixed as a rock. VII.

‘For thus saith Zeus, that, when all else within the land of Kekrops is wasted, the wooden wall alone shall not be taken; and this shall help you and your children.

‘But wait not until the horsemen come and the footmen. Turn your backs upon them now, and one day ye shall meet them.

‘And thou, divine Salamis, shalt destroy those that are born of women, when the seed time comes or the harvest.’

These words, as being more hopeful, the messengers wrote down, and went back to Athens and read them before the people. And the assembly was divided; for some of the old men thought that the god spake of the Akropolis, that it should not be taken, because long ago there had been a thorn hedge round it; while others said that he meant them to leave their city and betake themselves to the ships. But they who said this were troubled by the last words of the priestess, for all the soothsayers took them to mean that they should be beaten in a sea-fight at Salamis. 142

But among the Athenians there was a man named Themistokles, the son of Neokles, to whom the people gave, every day, more heed. This man came forward and said, ‘O Athenians, the soothsayers are wrong. If these words had been spoken 143

vii. of us, I am sure that the priestess would have said Salamis the *wretched*, and not Salamis the *divine*, if the people of the land were doomed to die there. The words are spoken not of us but of our enemies. Arm then for the fight at sea, for this is the wooden wall.' And the Athenians believed Themistokles rather than the soothsayers, because they would not have them fight by sea or even lift a hand against the enemy, but besought them to flee away and dwell in some other land.

144 And at this time another judgment of Themistokles stood them in good stead: for many years before, when the treasury of the people was rich and they were going to share among the citizens the money from the silver-mine of Laureion, he prevailed with them not to give away the money, but to build ships with it for the war against Aigina. And so it was that this war saved Hellas, for it made the Athenians become seamen; and the ships then built were never used against the men of Aigina, but were now of benefit to all the Greeks. And now they resolved to build many more ships
145 to fight with the barbarians by sea. And with them all the Greeks who took the good side made a vow that they would put away all feuds one against the other and cease from war; for there had been several wars going on amongst them, but the greatest was that between the men of Athens and Aigina. They determined also to send

spies to Asia, to see how Xerxes fared, and to send VII.
messengers to Argos and Sicily, to Kerkyra and
Crete, that all might come to the aid of their
kinsmen against the Persian.

So the spies went to Sardes; but they were ¹⁴⁶
caught and were led away to be put to death.
When Xerxes heard it, he charged his spear-
bearers to bring them before him, if they were
yet alive; and when he saw them and knew the
reason of their coming, he ordered that they should
be led through his whole army, and sent away un-
hurt after they were tired with seeing everything.
And the king said that, if the spies had been killed, ¹⁴⁷
the Greeks could not have heard beforehand of
all his great might, and yet they would do them
but little hurt by slaying three men; but now he
thought to have no trouble by marching against
them when the spies told them of his mighty army.
At another time, when he was at Abydos, he saw
ships with corn from Pontos sailing through the
Hellespont; and they who sat by were ready to
seize them, and waited only for the king's com-
mand. But Xerxes asked whither they were sail-
ing, and they answered, 'To thy enemies, O king,
laden with corn.' Then he said, 'Why, we are
going thither also. What harm do they do by
taking corn for me?'

After this, the messengers came to Argos, but ¹⁴⁸
they spoke to the Argives in vain. Many tales

VII. were told about it, but their own story is this, that, when they first heard that the Persians were coming, they sent to Delphi to ask the god what it would be best for them to do, because they had lost many men in their war with the Lacedæmonians, and that the priestess said to them :

‘ O thou that art hated by thy neighbours, but dear to the undying gods,

‘ Keep thy spear beside thee, and sit still.

‘ Guard thy head, and the head shall save the body.’

So, on the coming of the messengers, they said that, although the god forbade it, they would go out with the Spartans, if the Spartans would make peace with them for thirty years and give them
149 half the power. But the Spartans said that they had two kings, while the Argives had only one, and that they could not give him more than one vote out of three. Then the Argives were filled with anger, and bade the messengers leave Argos before the setting of the sun, if they would not be treated as enemies.

150 Such was their own tale ; but another was told throughout Hellas, that Xerxes himself sent a herald to Argos who said, ‘ Men of Argos, thus saith the king, We believe that Perses, from whom we are sprung, was the son of Perseus the son of Danaë, and of Andromeda the daughter of Kepheus. So then we are descended from you ; and it is not

right that we should go against those from whom we spring, or that you should oppose us by aiding others. Sit still then, and if things go as I would have them, there are none whom I will honour more than you.' And so, when the messengers of the Greeks came, they asked the Spartans for an equal share of power, because they knew that they would not give it. Now, whether 152 Xerxes really did so send a herald, I cannot say with certainty; but this I know, that if all men were to bring together their charges against others, in order to make an exchange, they would gladly go back each with his own burden, after stooping to pick up that of his neighbour; and so it can hardly be said that the Argives behaved worse than all others. Still I can only say what has been said by others; and the tale is also told that the men of Argos in very truth called the Persians against Hellas, because they were vexed at being beaten in war by the Lacedæmonians.

Then also the messengers who had been sent to 157 Sicily came to Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse, and said to him, 'The Lacedæmonians and Athenians have sent us to ask thy help against the barbarian; for thou surely knowest that the Persian is bringing all the army of the East from Asia against Hellas, pretending that he comes against Athens only, but wishing really to make all the Greeks his slaves. Thy power is great, and no little

- vii. portion of Hellas is thine, because thou rulest over Sicily. Help us then to deliver our country. If we stand together, our arms are strong, and we can match the enemy in battle. But if some betray and others will not help us, then it is to be feared that all Hellas must fall; for it is vain to think that the Persian will not come against you, if we are conquered. Take heed then in time. By aiding us thou savest thyself; and a good
158 issue commonly follows wise counsel.' But Gelon was angry, and answered vehemently, 'What grasping and selfish speech is this, O ye Greeks, that ye ask my help against the barbarian? When I sought your aid against the men of Carthage, and promised to open to you markets from which you have reaped rich gains, ye would not come; and, as far as lies with you, all this country had been under the barbarians to this day. But I have prospered; and now that war threatens you, ye begin to remember Gelon. But I will not deal with you as ye have dealt with me. I will give you two hundred triremes and twenty thousand hoplites, with horsemen and archers, slingers and runners; and I will give corn for all the army of the Greeks as long as the war shall last. But I must be the chieftain and leader of the Greeks against the barbarians. Not otherwise will I go myself or suffer others to go.'

Then Syagros the Spartan could not refrain vii. 159
himself, but said, ‘In very deed would Agamem-
non the son of Pelops mourn, if he were to hear
that the Spartans had been robbed of their honour
by Gelon and the Syracusans. Dream not that we
shall ever yield it to you. If thou choosest to aid
Hellas, do so under the Lacedæmonians; and if
thou wilt not have it so, then stay at home.’ Then
said Gelon, ‘O Spartan friend, abuse commonly
makes a man angry; but I will not pay thee
back thy insults in kind. If ye cling to power,
is it not likely that I should do so too, who lead
many more ships and men than you have? But
as ye are obstinate, I will thus far yield. If ye
rule by sea, I will rule by land; if ye rule by
land, then must I rule on the sea.’ But hereon 161
the messenger of the Athenians stood forth and
said, ‘King of the Syracusans, the Greeks have
sent us not because they want a leader, but
because they want an army. Now of an army
thou sayest little, but much about the command:
and when thou didst ask to lead us all, we left
it to the Lacedæmonians to speak; but now that
thou askest to rule by sea, then know that, not
even if they should wish it, will we yield to thee
in this. We grudge not to the Spartans their
power by land, but we will give place to none on
the sea. We have more seamen than all the
Greeks; and we are of all Greeks the most

- vii. ancient nation, and we alone have never changed our land; and in the war, of which Homer sings, our leader was the best who came to Ilion to set
 162 an army in battle array.' Then answered Gelon, 'O Athenians, you seem likely to have many leaders, but few that may be led. But since ye will yield nothing and grasp everything, hasten home and tell the Greeks that the spring-time has been taken out of their year.'
- 163 So the messengers sailed away; but the tale is also told that, as soon as Gelon heard that Xerxes had crossed the Hellespont, he sent Kadmos, a man of Kos, to Delphi, with much money and with friendly words, to watch and see how the war should go, and if Xerxes conquered, to give him earth and water, but if not, then to come
 165 home again. But the men of Sicily say against all this, that Gelon would have helped the Greeks if he could, but that there came against Sicily at this time a great army under Hamilcar the son of Hanno, king of the Carthaginians; and that he therefore sent money for the Greeks to Delphi because he was not able to help them with men.
- 168 Now the messengers, who were coming from Gelon, came to Kerkÿra, and asked the people to aid them; and they answered them in fair words, but did nothing. For they manned sixty ships, and lay off the cape of Tainaros, waiting to see how the war would turn; so that, if the Persian

conquered, they might have favour with him for withholding so many ships from the battle; and if the Greeks gained the day, they might say that the Etesian winds hindered them from coming up in time.

But the men of Thessaly had taken the side of 172 the Persians against their will; and when they heard that they were going to cross over into Europe, they sent messengers to the Isthmus, where many were gathered together from the cities who would not yield to the barbarian. And they came and said, 'O ye Greeks, ye must guard the passes of Olympos, that so Thessaly and all Hellas may be safe from the enemy. We will do what we can; but you must also send an army to help us, and, if not, we must make our peace with the Persian. We, who lie in his path first, cannot all be sacrificed for those who will not aid us.' Then they determined to send an 173 army by sea, which sailed through the Euripos and then went by land from Alos to the vale of Tempe which lies between Ossa and Olympos. There they pitched their camp and abode a few days, until a messenger came from Alexander the son of Amyntas, a Macedonian, to bid them depart lest they should be trampled down by the great host of the Persians. So they followed this counsel, chiefly because they learnt that there was another pass into Thessaly through the

VII. country of the Perrhebian by the city of Gonnos ;
and, marching down to the sea, they sailed back
174 to the Isthmus. And the men of Thessaly, when
they found themselves forsaken, went over alto-
gether to the Persian, and were ever after most
useful to the king.

175 So the Greeks at the Isthmus took counsel
where they should fix the war ; and the counsel
which prevailed was that they should guard the
pass in Thermopylai, because it was a single pass
and narrower than the entrance into Thessaly or
the Peloponnesos. Nor did they know, until
they came to Thermopylai and learnt it from the
men of Trachis, that there was yet another path,
by which those who kept the pass were at length
taken. And while the army went thither, the
ships were sent to Artemision in the land of
176 Histiaia, because it was near at hand. For the
Thracian sea becomes narrow between the island
of Skiathos and the Magnesian land ; and from
that point of Euboia which is opposite to this
strait begins the Artemisian shore. Now the
pass through Trachis is about fifty feet wide,
where narrowest, but at Thermopylai and Alpenoi
there is room only for a single wheel-track ; and
near Anthela it becomes again as narrow. Be-
tween these two spots there rises on the west a
rugged and steep mountain, and on the east is
marsh and sea. Here also are warm springs, and

an altar built to Herakles. There was also a wall to this pass, and gates, with which the Phokians sought to shut out the Thessalians when they came to dwell in the Æolian land. The greater part of this wall had fallen by age, but many thought that they should raise it again and meet the Persian here, while they could get food from the village of Alpenoi.

Meanwhile the Delphians besought the god for 178 themselves and for their country, and the priestess bade them pray to the winds, for these could greatly befriend Hellas. With this answer they cheered all who dreaded the coming of the Persian, and won for themselves undying gratitude. And ten of the Persian ships found three ships of 179 the Greeks keeping watch at Skiathos, which fled at sight of them. But the one which came from 180 Troizen was taken; and the Persians led the fairest man of the crew to the prow of the ship, and there slew him for good omen, as being the first and most beautiful of the Greeks whom they had taken. Another which came from Aigina 181 gave them some trouble, for Pytheas, one of the crew, fought fiercely until his whole body was cut and wounded; and when he fell, the Persians sought by every means to save him alive and to heal his wounds with ointments and fine linen, and showed him to all the army as one who had done great deeds, and treated him kindly: but all

vii. 182 the rest they made slaves. The third ship, which came from Athens, escaped to the mouth of the Peneios, where it was taken by the Persians; but the men had leaped on shore, and went by land to Athens. All this the Greeks at Artemision learnt by fire-beacons from Skiathos, and they fled in great fear to Chalkis to guard the Euripos, and left watchmen on the high lands of Eubœia.

184 Thus far the army of the barbarian had gone without hurt; and its numbers, so far as I can tell, were these. In the ships were fifty-one myriads of men; and the Persian army, which came by land, had more than one hundred and eighty myriads of footmen and horsemen and of 185 Arabs who rode on camels. To these were added all those whom the king had gathered in Europe; and these could not be less than two-and-thirty 186 myriads. And the servants and traders, and all others who followed the army, were more in number perhaps than the fighting men; so that, in all, Xerxes brought five hundred and twenty-eight myriads of men as far as Thermopylai and 187 the shore of Sepias. But of the women, and of all the beasts of burden, and of Indian dogs, it would not be possible to count up the numbers: so that to me the marvel is not so much that the streams should fail, but that food could be found for so great a multitude; for of corn alone eleven myriads of pecks must have been consumed each

day, even if we count nothing for the women, the beasts of burden, and the dogs. And of all these myriads of men, none was more worthy than Xerxes himself, for beauty and for stature, to have so great power. vii.

But when they came to the shore between 188
Kasthanaia and Sepias, in the Magnesian land, the ships that came first were moored upon the beach, while the rest lay beyond them at anchor and were ranged in rows eight deep facing the sea. So they lay all night; and at break of day the air was clear and the sea still, but soon a tempest rose with a strong east wind, which is called here the wind of the Hellespont. Then those who saw the storm increasing, and who could so take refuge, drew their ships up on the shore, and escaped; but all the ships which were out at sea were borne away and dashed upon the Ovens of Pelion, and all along the beach as far as Meliboia and Kasthanaia. And the story is 189
told, that at this time the Athenians prayed to Boreas, because an oracle bade them call on him who had married their kinswoman,—for Boreas had for his wife Oreithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus; and so, when the storm rose, they offered sacrifice, and besought Boreas and Oreithyia to aid them, by destroying the ships of the barbarians as they had done before at Athos; and after this, they built a temple to Boreas on the 190

VII. 190 banks of the river Ilissos. In this storm they
 who count the fewest say that there perished not
 less than four hundred ships, and men not to be
 told for number, and countless riches: so that
 this havoc was greatly a benefit to Ameinokles
 who had land in these parts, for from the shore
 he took up goblets of silver and of gold, and
 costly treasures of many kinds, until he became
 191 a very rich man. But of the corn ships and
 others that were destroyed, the number was never
 known; and the captains threw up a high fence
 with the wood of the wrecks, lest the Thessalians
 should fall on them in their evil plight, for the
 storm lasted for three days. At last the Magians
 offered sacrifice and appeased the wind, or else
 192 it went down of its own will. But the watchmen
 on the heights of Eubœia ran down on the second
 day of the storm, and told to the Greeks all that
 had befallen the fleet of the Persians. And when
 they heard it, they poured out libations to Po-
 seidon the Saviour, and hastened with all speed
 to Artemision, thinking that very few only of
 193 the ships would come out to meet them. But
 when the wind ceased and the sea grew calm, the
 Persians dragged down their ships, and, sailing
 along the shore, doubled the cape of Sepias, and
 194 went into the gulf of Pagasai. Of these ships,
 fifteen set out much later than the rest, and,
 chancing to see the ships of the Greeks at Arte-

mision, took them to be their own, and, sailing VII
down, fell into the hands of their enemies; and
all the men who were on board were bound with 195
chains and sent as prisoners to the Corinthian
Isthmus; but the rest of the Persian fleet reached 196
Aphetai in safety. And Xerxes went on through
Thessaly and Achaia, and encamped in Trachis,
in the Melian land; while the Greeks lay in the 201
pass which is called Thermopylai. Here there 202
were gathered together three hundred hoplites of
the Spartans, and one thousand of the men of
Tegea and Mantinea; and others from the Ar-
kadian Orchomenos, from Corinth and Mykenai,
and some also of the Thespians and the Thebans.
Thither also had come many of the Lokrians of 203
Opous, and of the Phokians, at the bidding of the
Greeks, who told them that many more were
coming up behind them, and that the men of
Athens and Aigina were guarding the sea: so
that they had no cause for fear, for it was no god
who was invading Hellas but a mortal man, and
no man lived who should never see evil, nay, that
the greatest of men suffer the worst of evils; and
so the Persian, as being mortal, should fall from
his great glory. So they came to help the Greeks 204
at Trachis; and the chief of all this army was
Leonidas, the son of Anaxandridas, king of Sparta,
with whom there came three hundred chosen men

vii. of Lacedæmon. And the Thebans he summoned to Pylai, because it was noised abroad that they were greatly favouring the Persian, and he wished to know whether they would take his side openly or not. So they dealt craftily with Leonidas, and
206 sent four hundred men.

These, then, were sent on first, while the rest remained behind, for the Karneian feast was at hand in Sparta, and the great games of Olympia fell also at this time. So they proposed to march when these should be ended, for they never
207 thought that the strife in Thermopylai would so soon be over. In the meanwhile, the Greeks took counsel with Leonidas, and some wished to fall back and guard the Isthmus; but the men of Phokis and the Lokrians were urgent that they should stay, and send messengers for more help, because they were but a few men to fight with the great army of the Persians.

208 While they thus took counsel, Xerxes sent a horseman to learn their numbers and see what they were doing; and he came to their camp, but he could not see it all, for he was hindered by the wall which the Greeks had raised up again. But outside of it were the Lacedæmonians, and their arms were piled against the wall, while some of them were wrestling and others were combing their hair. And he marvelled at the sight, and having counted their numbers went back quietly

(for none pursued him or took notice of him), and told Xerxes all that he had seen. VII.

Now the king could not understand that they were making ready either to die or to slay their enemies, but thought that they were doing childish and silly things. So he sent for Demaratos and asked him what all this might mean; and he said, 'When we first set out against Hellas, I told thee about these men, and thou didst mock my words when I said how these things would end. Yet it is most needful for me to speak the truth before thee; wherefore hearken now. These men are here to fight for the pass; and when they have to face a mortal danger, their custom is to comb and deck out their hair. Be sure then that if thou canst conquer these and the rest who remain behind in Sparta, there is no other nation which shall dare to raise a hand against thee, for now art thou face to face with the bravest men of all Hellas.' But Xerxes believed him not, and asked how so few men could ever fight with his great army. And Demaratos said, 'O king, deal with me as with a liar, if these things come not to pass as I say.' But Xerxes would not believe him still, and four days he waited, thinking that they would assuredly run away; but when he found that they remained there in folly and lack of shame, he was angry and charged the Medians and Kissians to go and bring them all bound before

- vii. him. So they hastened to take them, but many were slain; and although others came up, yet
211 could they not prevail. After these came chosen men of the Persians, who were called Immortals, with Hydarnes for their leader; and they thought to take them easily, but fared no better, for their spears were shorter than those of the Greeks, and their numbers were of no use in the narrow pass. And the Lacedæmonians fought bravely and wisely, and, pretending sometimes to fly, drew the barbarians into the pass, when they turned upon them suddenly and slew great multitudes, until
212 they all fled back to their camp. Thrice in this battle the king leaped from his throne in terror for his army; but on the next day he sent them forth again, thinking that the enemy would be too weary to fight. But they were all drawn out in battle array, save only the Phokians; and these were placed upon the hill to guard the pathway. So the Persians fared as they had done before, and then went back to their camp.
213 And the king was greatly troubled, until there came a Melian named Ephialtes, in hope of some great reward, and, telling him of the path which led over the hill to Thermopylai, destroyed the Greeks who were guarding it. This man fled afterwards in terror to Thessaly, and the Pylagoroi put a price on his head, when the Amphiktyons were gathered together at Pylai; and at last he was

slain by a man of Trachis at Antikyra. There is VII. 214
indeed another story which says that two other
men showed Xerxes the path; but the Pylagoroi
put the price on the head of Ephialtes, and surely
they must have known best who betrayed the
path to the Persians.

Then Xerxes, in great joy, sent Hydarnes with 215
his men from the camp, as the daylight died
away. And all night long they followed the path 217
Anopaia, with the mountains of Oita on the right
and the hills of Trachis on the left. The day
was dawning when they reached the peak of the
mountain; and there the thousand hoplites of the
Phokians were keeping watch and guarding the
pathway, for they had charged themselves with
this task of their own free will. While the 218
Persians were climbing the hill, the Phokians
knew not of their coming, for the whole hill was
covered with oak trees; but they knew what had
happened when the Persians reached the summit.
Not a breath of wind was stirring, and they heard
the trampling of their feet as they trod on the
fallen oak leaves. At once they started up, and
before they had well put on their arms, the bar-
barians were upon them. But the Persians were
frightened as they saw men making ready to fight,
for Hydarnes had not thought to meet any; but
when he learnt from Ephialtes that these were
not the Lacedæmonians, he drew out his men for

vii. battle. And the Phokians, covered with a shower of arrows, fell back to the highest ground, because they thought that the Persians were coming chiefly against them; and there they made ready to fight and die. But the Persians, taking no more heed of them, hastened with all speed down the hill.

219 In the pass itself, the soothsayer Megistias, as he looked upon the victims, first told them that on the next day they must die. There came deserters also, who said that the Persians were coming round; and as the day was dawning watchmen also ran to tell them the same thing. Then the Greeks took counsel, and some urged flight and went away each to his own city, while others remained
220 with Leonidas. But there is another story that he sent them away himself lest they should all be slain; and this tale I rather believe—that he knew them to be faint-hearted, and so suffered them not to stay, but that it was not seemly for himself to fly. So he stayed where he was, and left behind him a great name, and the happiness of Sparta failed not. For the priestess of Delphi had told the Spartans when the war began, that either Lacedæmon must be wasted or their king must die. So Leonidas thought upon her words and sent them away, that so the Spartans might have
221 all the glory. And of this there is yet this further proof, that he sought to send away the soothsayer

Megistias, because he was an Akarnanian, but VII.
Megistias would not go. Yet he sent home his only son, who was with him in the army.

So all the rest departed, and the Thebans and 222
Thespians alone remained. The men of Thebes Leonidas kept sorely against their will, as pledges for their people; but the Thespians would not save their own lives by forsaking Leonidas and his men; so they remained and died with them, and their leader was Demophilos, the son of Diadromes.

When the sun rose, Xerxes poured out wine to 223
the god, and tarried until the time of the filling of the market, for such was the bidding of Ephialtes, because the path down the hill was much shorter than the way which led up it on the other side. Then the barbarians arose for the onset; and the men of Leonidas knew now that they must die, and on this day they came out into the wider part of the pass, for, before, they had fought in the narrowest place. As soon as the battle began, there fell very many of the barbarians, for the leaders of their companies drove every man on with scourges and blows. Many fell into the sea and were drowned; many more were trampled down alive by one another; and no thought was taken of those who fell. And the Spartans fought on with all their might, to slay as many of the barbarians as they could, before they should them-

vii. selves be slain by the men who were coming round the hill.

224 So they fought on till almost all their spears were broken, and they slaughtered the Persians with their swords. At last Leonidas fell nobly, and other Spartans with him, whose names I learnt as of men whose memory ought not to be lost; and for this reason I learnt the names of all
225 the Three Hundred. Then over the body of Leonidas there was a hard fight, in which fell many great men of the Persians, and among them two brothers of the king. But the Spartans gained back his body, and turned the enemy to flight four times, until the traitor Ephialtes came up with his men. Then the face of the battle was changed, for the Greeks went back into the narrow part within the wall, and there they sat down, all in one body except the Thebans, on the hillock where now the lion stands over the grave of Leonidas. In this spot, they who yet had them fought with daggers, and the rest as they could, while the barbarians overwhelmed them, some in front, some digging down the wall, others pressing round them on every side.

228 So fell the Thespians and the Spartans. Of the latter, the bravest man, it is said, was Diênêkês, who, as the tale runs, heard from a man of Trachis, just before the battle, that whenever the Persians shot their arrows the sun was darkened by them,

and answered merrily, 'Our friend from Trachis VII.
brings us good news. If their arrows hide the
sun, we shall be able to fight in the shade.'

They were all buried where they fell; and over 228
those who died before Leonidas sent the allies
away, were these words written:

'Four thousand men of Peloponnesos
Here fought with three hundred myriads.'

But there was another writing over the Spartans
by themselves, which said:

'Tell the Spartans, at their bidding,
Stranger, here in death we lie;'

and over the soothsayer were written these words:

'This is the grave of the seer Megistias, whom the Medes
slew

When they had crossed the river Spercheios.

Well he knew the fate that was coming,

But he could not forsake the leaders of the Spartans.'

Of these three hundred Spartans there is a story 229
told, that two, Eurytos and Aristodemos, were
lying sick in the village of Alpenoi. These men
would not make up their minds to do the same
thing; but Eurytos called for his arms, and bade
his guide to lead him (for his eyes were diseased)
into the battle. So the guide led him and then
ran away, while Eurytos plunged into the fight

- vii. and was slain; and Aristodemos went back to
230 Sparta alone. Some say, however, that these two
had been sent as messengers from the camp, and
that the one loitered on his errand and was late
for the fight, while the other hastened back and
was killed. Now, if both had returned together
to Sparta, I do not think that the Spartans would
have been angry: but coming alone, he was
231 avoided by all. None would kindle a fire for him,
none would speak to him, but everyone called
him Aristodemos the dastard. Yet this man
made good his name, and fell nobly in the battle
which was afterwards fought at Plataiai.
- 232 And yet one other of these three hundred was
sent, they say, on an errand into Thessaly, and so
was not in the fight. This man also the Spartans
dishonoured, so that he slew himself in his misery.
- 233 Now the Thebans, as long as they were with the
Spartans in the battle, were compelled to fight
against the king. But when Leonidas with his
men hastened to the hillock within the wall, they
got away, and with hands stretched out went to-
wards the barbarians with the truest of all tales,
saying that they were on the king's side and were
the first to give him earth and water, and that
they were guiltless of the hurt which had been
done to him, because they were in the battle
sorely against their will. To these words the
Thessalians also bare witness; so their lives were

spared: but some had the bad luck to be killed as they came near to the Persians, and most of the others were branded with the royal mark, beginning from their chieftain Leontiadas.¹ VII.

After this Xerxes sent for Demaratos and said, ²³⁴
 ‘Thou art a wise man, Demaratos, as I judge from this, that all has turned out according to thy words. Now tell me how many of the Lacedæmonians are left, and are they all warriors like those who have been slain here?’ Then he answered, ‘O king, the Lacedæmonians have many

¹ That the Hellenic forces assembled at Thermopylai suffered a defeat, is indisputable: but the details of the event are even more uncertain than those of the battle of Marathon. According to the numbers given, Leonidas must have had under his command a force of not less than 8,300 men. The religious infatuation of the Spartans may explain adequately the small number of their citizens present at Thermopylai; but the absence of the Athenians involves a much more serious difficulty, on which Niebuhr lays great stress. Yet with the forces at his disposal Leonidas succeeded for ten or twelve days in checking the advance of the whole Persian army and inflicting on them a very serious loss. Nothing could prove more clearly the practicability of the position. Even after the betrayal of the path by Ephialtes, and when the allies (with the exception of the Thespians and of the Thebans, who did as little in the conflict as they could) had been sent away, 20,000 Persians are said to have been slain by 300 Spartans and 700 Thespians. If this enormous loss was caused by so scanty a band, what must have been the result if Leonidas had kept the troops whom he dismissed? It would seem that the imputation of bad generalship is the price which Leonidas must pay for the glory of his self-devotion.

vii. men and many cities. One of them, which is called Sparta, has about eight thousand men; and these are all equal to the men who have fought here. The others are not indeed so strong, but yet they are brave men.' Then Xerxes asked him, 'How shall we conquer these men with the least trouble? Tell me, for thou knowest the secrets of their counsels, because thou hast been their king.'

235 And Demaratos said, 'If thou really seekest my judgment, O king, then I must give thee the best counsel. Send three hundred ships to the Lakonian coast. Over against it lies an island called Kythêra, of which Chilon, a very wise man, said that it would be better for the Spartans if it were sunk in the depths of the sea. He did not indeed know of thy coming, but he feared lest any army should seize it. Let thy ships then sweep their coasts from this island and scare them, and so, with war at their very doors, there is no fear of their coming hitherwards to help the Greeks; and when the rest of Hellas is enslaved, then the Lakonians will easily fall into thy hands. Otherwise this will be the issue. A narrow isthmus leads into the Peloponnesos, and there thou wilt have to fight greater battles than those which have been fought already.'

236 But Achaimenes, the brother of Xerxes, who was admiral of the fleet, stood by, and, hearing this, feared that Demaratos would persuade him :

so he said, ‘O king, thou art listening to a man vii.
 who is jealous of thy good fortune, or perhaps a
 traitor. This is the way of the Greeks. They
 envy the prosperous, and hate everyone who is
 better than themselves. Now, in our last mishap,
 four hundred ships have been broken; and if
 three hundred more are sent away, the enemy is
 at once a match for us. If all remain together,
 they cannot well be beaten; and the army on land
 and the ships at sea will greatly help one the other.
 Order thy own matters, and take no heed to the
 counsels of the enemy, their doings, or their num-
 bers. They can take care of their own business,
 and we of ours. And if the Lacedæmonians do
 come out to fight, that is no remedy for their pre- 237
 sent hurt.’ Then the king answered, ‘Thy words
 are good, Achaimenes, and I will do as thou wilt.
 Demaratos too has given me his best counsel, but
 he is not so wise as thou art. For I never will
 believe that he is not my friend. His former
 words are my warrant, and so is this, that one
 citizen may envy another and will grudge him his
 counsel unless he be a very good man; and such
 men are rare; but it is different with a stranger
 to the man who is his friend. Let everyone then
 take heed how he speaks evil of Demaratos, whom
 I have made my friend.’

Then Xerxes went through the dead, and he 238
 ordered that the head of Leonidas should be cut

vii. off (when he learnt that he was their king and leader), and his body hung upon a cross. And this makes it clear, even if it had not been plain before, that Xerxes was wroth with Leonidas while he lived, more than with any other man ; for the Persians always greatly honour those who have fought against them bravely.

239 Now it was from Demaratos himself that the Lacedæmonians first learnt that the king was coming ; for when he was at Sousa he heard that he was going against Hellas, and he longed to tell it to the Spartans, who had driven him away from being king. So we may shrewdly judge whether he told them in friendship or in mockery. Fearing then that he might be caught if he did it in any other way, he took a double writing-tablet, and, scraping off the wax, scratched upon the wood all that he wished to say, and then melted the wax again over the letters. So the guardians of the roads took no heed to an empty tablet ; and when it reached Lacedæmon, they could make nothing of it, until Gorgo, the daughter of Kleomenes (who was now the wife of Leonidas), said that, if they scraped off the wax, they would find letters upon the wood. So they read the message of Demaratos, and then they sent to tell all the Greeks that the great king was coming.

CHAPTER VI.

THE STRIFE OF SHIPS AND STORMS AT ARTEMISION.—THE
SIGHT-SEEING AT THERMOPYLAI.—THE PERSIANS AT
DELPHI.

Earth was quaking to her centre,
Heaven was all a sheet of flame,
When the stroke of righteous judgment
On the haughty spoiler came.
Then the peaks of high Parnassos,
Shivered in the tempest's blow,
Showered a thousand craggy ruins
On the guilty ones below.

E. A. FREEMAN.

Now the ships of the Greeks were gathered together at Artemision, two hundred and seventy-one in all. Of these the Athenians gave one hundred and twenty-seven, which the men of Plataiai in their zeal helped them to man, for they themselves knew nothing of the sea. And the men of Corinth sent forty ships, and the men of Megara twenty. There were also ships from Aigina, Sikyon and Epidauros, from Eretria and Troizen. The Lacedæmonians also sent ten, while the men of Chalkis manned twenty ships which

Herodotus
VIII. 1.

- VIII. 2 the Athenians gave to them. And the leader who had the chief power was Eurybiades the Spartan, for the Greeks said that they would obey none but the Spartans, and that they would immediately go away if the Athenians were to
- 3 rule. So the Athenians gave way nobly, for they sought before all things to save Hellas, and, knowing that it must fall if they strove among themselves for power, they resolved to bide their time; and this soon came, for, when they had driven back the Persians to Asia, the allies took away the chief power from the Lacedæmonians, because Pausanias, as they said, had grown wanton in his pride.
- 4 From Artemision they saw the ships of the Persians at Aphetai and the land full of men; and they determined to flee. In vain the Euboians tried to persuade Eurybiades to stay until they could take their wives and children away. So they went to Themistokles, the general of the Athenians, and gave him thirty talents that he
- 5 might make the Greeks fight before Euboa. Of these talents he gave five to Eurybiades, and so prevailed with him; but when Adeimantos the Corinthian stood out and refused to fight at Artemision Themistokles sent him a message, saying, 'Thou shalt not leave us, for I will give thee more money than the king of the Medes would send thee for forsaking thy friends;' and

with this message he sent three talents of silver, and won over Adeimantos. So they stayed near Euboia and fought there. VIII.

And as the sun was now going down in the sky, the barbarians at Aphetai saw that a few ships of the Greeks were lying in wait at Artemision and were eager to take them; but they would not sail out against them, lest the Greeks should see them and flee away during the night, for their mind was not to let a man of them live. So they chose out two hundred ships and sent them round Skiathos, so that they might sail round Euboia and, coming to the Euripos without being seen, might attack the enemy in the rear, while they themselves should bear down on them in front so soon as they should see the signal which was to be set up. And after this they began to count the ships at Aphetai.

Now in their army there was a great diver named Skyllias of Skionê, who in the storm at Pelion had saved many things for the Persians and taken a great many for himself, and who, wishing to go to the Greeks, had not been able to do so until now. But while they were counting the ships, he dived (as some say) into the sea at Aphetai and came up at Artemision, after swimming about eighty furlongs under the water. But of this man many other things are said which look much like lies, and I believe that he escaped

VIII. to Artemision in a boat; and when he came, he told them of the great storm, and of the ships which were sailing round Euboia.

9 Then the Greeks took counsel, and determined to wait where they were till midnight, and then to go and meet the ships which were coming round the island. And as no one came against them from Aphetai, they sailed out themselves, when the day was now far spent, to make trial
10 of the enemy. When the Persians saw them coming, they thought them mad, and put out to sea, thinking easily to take them; and with their multitude of ships they surrounded the Greeks, so that the Ionians, who were with the king against their will, were grieved for the destruction which, as they thought, was now come upon their kinsmen; while the rest sought each to seize first an Athenian ship, and so to gain the prize from the king,—for the Athenians always counted most with the Persians

11 So, when the signal was given for battle, the Greeks brought the stern of their ships together, and then began the fight prow to prow, although they had but a little space. Then Lykomedes, an Athenian, took the first ship of the barbarians, after which nine-and-twenty more were taken; and the night came on, and the Persians fell back to Aphetai, having fared not at all as they had
12 hoped. All night long there was heavy rain, for

it was midsummer, with much thunder from Mount Pelion; and the dead, with pieces of the wrecks, being carried towards Aphetai, clogged the prows of the ships and the oars. And the men on the land were greatly afraid when they heard this, and looked for death to all,—for tempest and shipwreck had been followed by battle, and after the battle again came storm and thunder and torrents hurrying from the mountains to the sea; and a miserable night they spent. But it was much more miserable for the ships which were sailing round Euboia, for on these the storm fell more fiercely as they laboured in the sea. Carried along by the gale, and not knowing whither they were borne, they were dashed against the rocks; and all this was done by the god, that the Persian army might be brought more nearly to the number of the Greeks.

Gladly the barbarians at Aphetai saw the day ¹⁴ dawn; but, after so much buffeting, they were well content to stay still. But to the aid of the Greeks there came fifty-three Athenian ships; and a message was brought that all the ships sailing round Euboia had been broken by the storm. Falling in after this with some Kilikian ships, they destroyed them, and, when the night came on, sailed back to Artemision.

On the third day, the chiefs of the Persians, ¹⁵ vexed that so few ships should thus annoy them,

- viii. and dreading what the king might do to them, waited no longer for the enemy to begin the battle, but put out to sea about midday. And these things happened here at the same time that Leonidas and his men were fighting at Thermopylai; and as they fought to keep the pass, so these fought to guard the Euripos, while the barbarians cheered each other on to destroy the
- 16 Greeks and force the passage. So they came on with their ships drawn up in a half-circle to surround the Greeks, who sailed straight to meet them. In this battle both fared much alike; for the ships of Xerxes were entangled by their own numbers, and dashed against each other; still they held out strongly, for they could not bear to be put to flight by so few. The Greeks also lost many ships and men, though their enemies
- 18 lost more. So both departed gladly to their place of anchoring; and the Greeks got back their dead and the broken ships, and began to think again of flight, for they had been roughly handled and half of the Athenian ships disabled.
- 19 Then Themistokles thought that, if he could draw away the Ionians and Karians, they would be a match for their enemies; and, gathering the generals together on the shore where the Euboians were bringing down their cattle to the sea, he told them of his design, and bade all who wished to sacrifice to light a fire and offer some of the

Euboian cattle, since it was better that they VIII.
should have them than their enemies. Thus the 20
Euboians lost their cattle, because they would
not give heed to the prophecy of Bakis which
said :

‘When he that speaks in a barbarian tongue
shall cast a yoke into the sea,

‘Take good heed to send away from Eubolia the
bleating goats.’

At this time came the scout from Trachis. 21
For two were placed, each with a boat ready,
the one at Artemision to tell the men in Ther-
mopylai if any evil befell the fleet, the other with
Leonidas to bring tidings to Artemision if he
and his men fared ill. When they heard what
had happened, they tarried no longer, but set out,
the Corinthians first and the Athenians last. And 22
Themistokles, with some of the best sailing ships,
went to all places where they might get water;
and on the rocks he cut these words, which the
Ionians read when they came up the day after,
‘Ye do wrong, O Ionians, by going against your
fathers and bringing Hellas into slavery. If ye
can, take our side. If ye cannot, then fight for
neither, and pray the Karians to do likewise. But
if this also be impossible, at least in the battle be
slack and lazy, remembering that ye are sprung
from us, and that we are fighting in a quarrel
which ye began.’ This Themistokles did, as it

viii. would seem, for two reasons: either he would win over the Ionians to their side, or he would make Xerxes suspect them and keep them back from any part in the battles which might be fought.

23 Soon after this there came a man of Histiaia to the Persians, and said that the Greeks had fled from Artemision. And they guarded him with care (for they believed him not), and sent some swift ships to see. When these brought the same news, the whole fleet sailed to Artemision, and thence to Histiaia, where they overran all the villages on the sea-shore.

24 Meanwhile Xerxes had been arranging a sight for the seamen. Twenty thousand of his men had been slain at Thermopylai. Of these he left one thousand on the ground; the rest he buried in trenches under leaves and earth, so that they could not be seen. When all was ready, he sent a herald throughout his army, who said, 'All who please may leave their posts and go to see how the king fights against those foolish men
25 who thought to withstand his power.' On this, so many desired to go, that there was a lack of boats to carry them. And when they had crossed, they went over the battle-ground; and all knew the Lacedæmonians and Thespians, with the helots lying beside them: but not less did they see through the trick of Xerxes, for it was a thing to laugh at, when the thousand Persians lay by

themselves, and the four thousand Greeks were gathered into a single heap. So all that day they spent in seeing this sight, and on the day following went back to their ships, while the land army went on its way.

At this time there came to the Persians some 26 men of Arkadia who wished to work for the king. And when they were brought before him, they were asked what the Greeks were doing. Then they said that they were keeping the feast at Olympia and beholding the contests of wrestlers and horsemen. On hearing this, one of the Persians asked what the prize might be for which they strove; and he was told that it was an olive-wreath. Then Tritantaichmes, the son of Artabanos, could no longer keep silence, but said, 'Ah, Mardonios, what sort of men are these with whom thou hast brought us here to fight, who strive not for money but for glory!' And for this saying the king held him to be a coward.

Meanwhile, after the death of Leonidas in 27 Thermopylai, the Thessalians sent a herald to the men of Phokis, whom they greatly hated because the Phokians had done them much evil in war in times past, and said to them, 'Men of Phokis, 29 we are stronger than you. We were mightier even before the Persian came; but now we are in so great favour with the king that, if we please, we can take your land away and make you all

- viii. slaves. Still, we bear you no malice. Give us
30 fifty talents, and no evil shall befall you.' This
message they sent, because the Phokians were the
only people in those parts who did not take the
side of the Persians. And I believe that they
did not do so, merely because they so hated the
Thessalians; and that they would have joined the
king, if the Thessalians had not done so. As it
was, they made answer that they would give them
31 no money, nor be traitors to Hellas. Then the
Thessalians were very angry, and led the bar-
barians against them, through the country of the
Dorians, which they did not hurt because they
32 were on the king's side. But when they came
into the Phokian land, they found that some of
the people had gone up to the tops of Mount Par-
nassos, and many more to the Ozolian Lokrians,
to the city of Amphissa which lies above the Kris-
saian plain. Then over the whole of Phokis the
storm of war burst, for the men of Thessaly led
the Persians everywhere and burnt the cities and
33 the temples. Charadra and Tethrônion, Neon
and Hyampolis, Erôkos and Elateia, none were
spared, but all, with the rest, were burnt. At
Abai also they set fire to the temple when they
had plundered its treasures, and slew some of the
Phokians whom they took as they drew near to
the mountains.
- 34 But when they reached Panopeai, the army

was divided, and the more part went on with VIII.
Xerxes against Athens, and marched into Boiotia,
of which all the people had given him earth and 35
water. The others set off with their leaders to
Delphi, to plunder the temple and bring all its
wealth to the king, who knew the treasures which
were there as well as he knew what he had left at
home, for there was no lack of men to tell him.
Onwards they marched, keeping Parnassos on the
right, burning and slaying everywhere, so that 36
the Delphians were dismayed, and asked the god
whether they should bury his holy treasures or
carry them away. And the god said, 'Move
them not: I am able to guard them.' Then the
Delphians took thought for themselves, and sent
their women and children across into the land of
the Achaians, while most of them climbed up to
the peaks of Parnassos and to the cave of Korykos,
and others fled to Amphissa. So there remained
in Delphi only sixty men, and the prophet who
was named Akêratos. As the barbarians drew 37
nigh and were now in sight, the prophet saw lying
in front of the temple the sacred arms which used
to hang in the holy place, and which it was not
lawful for man to touch; and he went to tell the
Delphians of the marvel. But there were greater
wonders still, as the barbarians came up in haste
to the chapel of Athênê which stands before
the great temple, for the lightnings burst from

- vii. heaven, and two cliffs torn from the peaks of Parnassos dashed down with a thundering sound and crushed great multitudes, and fierce cries and shoutings were heard from the chapel of
- 38 Athênê. Utterly dismayed and thrown together in the uproar, the barbarians turned to flee; and when the Delphians saw this, they came down from the mountain and slew many more, while the rest hurried with all speed to the Boiotian land, and said that two hoplites, higher in stature than mortal men, had followed behind, slaying and driving them from Delphi.
- 39 These, the Delphians say, were the two heroes of the land, Phylakos and Autonoös, whose chapels stand near the great temple. And the rocks which fell from Parnassos lie in the sacred ground of Athênê, into which they were hurled as they crushed the host of the barbarians.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GREEKS AT SALAMIS.—THE FIGHT AND VICTORY.—
THE COUNSEL OF MARDONIOS.—THE FLIGHT TO SARDES.

A king sate on the rocky brow
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis ;
And ships by thousands lay below,
And men in nations ;—all were his.
He counted them at break of day—
And when the sun set, where were they ?

BYRON.

WHEN the ships of the Greeks sailed away from Artemision, they anchored at Salamis, because the Athenians wished to take their wives and children away from Attica, and also to take counsel what they ought to do. They had looked to find all the Peloponnesians awaiting the enemy in Boiotia ; but, instead of this, they learnt that they were strengthening the Isthmus, not caring for the rest of Hellas, if only the Peloponnesos could be saved. So the rest anchored at Salamis, while the Athenians went to their own country, and ordered all to take heed to their children and households.

Herodotus
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- viii. These were mostly sent away to Troizen, others to Aigina and Salamis. And this was done in haste, not merely because they sought to obey the words of Apollo, but because the priestess told them that the sacred serpent which guarded the Akropolis had refused to take the food which every month was placed before it. As this had never happened before, they were yet more eager to leave the city, which, as it seemed, the goddess had herself forsaken. When all had been removed, they
 42 sailed away to join the rest at Salamis, whither also had come all the ships which had been commanded to meet at Troizen. And many more ships were gathered here than had fought at Artemision; and over all these was the same general, Eurybiades, who was a Spartan, albeit not of the royal race. The greatest number of ships, as well
 44 as those which sailed best, were sent by the Athenians, who manned one hundred and eighty vessels by themselves,—for the Plataians did not help them at Salamis as they had done at Artemision. These had been left in their own land, while they were trying to save their households before the coming of the enemy.
- 45 Of the rest, the Lacedæmonians sent sixteen ships; and the men of Corinth and Megara, of Chalkis and Eretria and Keos, furnished the same number as at Artemision. There were also ships from Sikyon and Epidauros, Troizen and Her-

mione, from Ambrakia and Leukas. And the VIII. 46
men of Aigina sent thirty ships, while they kept
the others to guard their own island. The Naxians
sent four ships, which were made ready to help
the Persians, but which they brought to Salamis
at the bidding of Demokritos. There were also a
few ships from Styra and Kythnos, from Melos
and Siphnos and Seriphos. All the other islanders
had given earth and water to the king. And of 47
all the Greeks who dwell beyond the Thesprotians
and the river Acheron, the men of Kroton alone
sent one ship to the aid of Hellas in this her time
of danger. So all the ships together were three 48
hundred and seventy-eight. And when all were 49
gathered together at Salamis, the chieftains took
counsel with Eurybiades where they ought to
fight. Of Attica they took no thought, for the
Athenians had already forsaken it; but, as they
had done before, so now most wished to sail away
to the Isthmus,—for they said that if they fought
at Salamis and were beaten, they would be shut
up and besieged in the island, where they could
get no help; while from the Isthmus they could
at the least flee into their own country. While 50
they thus took counsel, there came an Athenian
to tell them that the barbarian was already in
Attica, and that everything in it was given to the
flame; for the army of the Persians had now
gone through Boiotia, burning the cities of Thes-

viii. piai and Plataiai, because these would not take the king's side, and had reached Athens, ravaging the whole land.

51 Three months had passed away since they had left the Hellespont; and they came to the city while Kalliadas was archon, and found it empty, saving only the guardians of the temple and some poor men who had placed doors and planks of wood as a kind of hedge round the Akropolis, partly because they were not able to leave the city, but chiefly because they thought that this was the meaning of the priestess when she said that the
52 wooden wall should not be taken. So the Persians took their post on the hill of Ares which faces the Akropolis, and besieged it, shooting arrows rolled round with lighted tow against the palisade. Still the Athenians held out within it, although they were sorely pressed and saw that their wooden wall would not save them. Nay, they would not even hearken to the children of Peisistratos who besought them to yield, but rolled down huge stones on the barbarians if they dared to approach the gates, so that Xerxes for a
53 long time knew not what to do. But at last he found a way to enter in,—for the prophecy must be fulfilled that all the land of Attica should fall into the hands of the Persian. Near the chapel of Aglauros, the daughter of Kekrops, no watch was kept, because the ground was there so steep

that they thought none could climb up it. Up VIII.
 this way some of the Persians clambered ; and
 when the Athenians saw them, some threw them-
 selves down the rock and perished, and others
 fled into the temple, while the Persians hastened
 to open the gates and slay the suppliants. After
 this, they plundered the temple and burnt the
 whole Akropolis.

Then, in the gladness of his heart, Xerxes sent 54
 a messenger to Sousa to say how he had taken
 Athens, and to tell them of all his good fortune.
 And, on the day after, he called the Athenians
 who had followed him from their exile, and bade
 them go up to the Akropolis and there sacrifice
 after the manner of their country ; whether it
 was that he wished to obey some vision, or that
 he was troubled at the thought that he had burnt
 the temple. So they offered up the sacrifice ; 55
 and I tell these things for this reason. In the
 chapel of Erechtheus, the child of the earth, which
 is built on this Akropolis, there is an olive-tree
 and a well of salt water, which they say that
 Poseidon and Athênê left as tokens when they
 strove together to see which of them should have
 the land. This olive-tree was burnt along with
 the chapel ; but when the Athenians went up to
 sacrifice at the bidding of the king, they saw a
 shoot which had run up already from the stem to
 the height of a cubit.

- VIII. 56 When the Greeks at Salamis heard all these tidings, they were so frightened that some of the leaders would not stay for the ending of the council, but, hurrying to their ships, set sail and fled; while those who remained decided that they must fight before the Isthmus. So the night came on, and all were scattered to their ships.
- 57 And when Themistokles reached his own vessel, Mnesiphilos, an Athenian, asked him what was the end of the council; and when he learnt that they were all to sail away and fight at the Isthmus, he said: 'Well, if we leave Salamis, the men will go each to his own city, and Eurybiades will not be able to keep them, nor anyone else; and so the army will be scattered, and Hellas ruined by our folly. If there is any way of doing it, try to upset their plans, and persuade
- 58 Eurybiades to stay here.' These words pleased Themistokles; and, without waiting to answer them, he went straight to the ship of Eurybiades and asked to speak with him, and Eurybiades bade him come into the ship. Then Themistokles went up, and, sitting by his side, told him the words of Mnesiphilos as if they had been his own, adding many others, until Eurybiades agreed to
- 59 call the chieftains to another council on the shore. When they were met, Themistokles rose, before Eurybiades could say why he had called them, and spoke urgently, until Adeimantos, the leader of

the Corinthians, said, ‘O Themistokles, those who rise up in the games before their time are beaten;’ and he answered gently, ‘Yes; but those who loiter are not crowned.’ Then, turning again to Eurybiades, he went on with his speech; but he 60 did not say that the allies would run away if they went to the Isthmus, for he could not fitly accuse them when they were present; but he said, ‘It depends now upon thee to save Hellas, if thou wilt fight here, and not follow the advice of these men by taking the ships away to the Isthmus. Look at the matter on both sides. If we go to the Isthmus, we must fight on the open sea,—the worst thing for our ships, which are fewer in number and heavier; and even if we win the day, Salamis, Megara, and Aigina are lost. Nay, the land army of the Persians will go along with their fleet; and so, by bringing them to the Peloponnesos, thou wilt place all Hellas in jeopardy. But my counsel has this benefit, that, by fighting in a narrow space,¹ we shall in all likelihood win the battle; and by doing this, Salamis is saved, where we

¹ τὸ ἐν στενῷ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ. A complete revolution had been effected in Athenian naval tactics before the days of Phormion; and that which Themistokles desired for the Greek fleet at Salamis, brought both terror and destruction to the fleet of Nikias and Demosthenes at Syracuse. For the history and nature of the changes in the naval tactics of Athens, see Grote, History of Greece, vol. iv. p. 409; vol. v. pp. 137, 181, 327, &c. &c.

VIII. have placed our women and children. This is our concern, but it is your interest also ; for we shall be defending your country just as well here as if we were fighting at the Isthmus, while the enemy will not be carried on to the Peloponnesos, but (without going farther than Attica) will make their escape as best they may, and Megara and Aigina will be saved and also Salamis, in which, besides, an oracle tells us that we are to conquer our enemies. Reasonable counsels are followed generally by a good issue ; without them, the gods

61 will not fling good fortune in our faces.' Then Adeimantos rose up in haste, bidding him be silent because he had now no country, and charging Eurybiades not to listen to one who was only a wanderer ; and these words he cast in his teeth because Athens was now in the power of the Persians. Then Themistokles was wroth, and spoke vehemently against him and the Corinthians, telling him that the Athenians had yet a nobler country and a greater city, as long as they had two hundred ships all well manned ; but to Eurybiades he spake yet more earnestly : ' By remaining here, thou wilt show thyself a brave man. By going away, thou wilt destroy all Hellas, for with the war on land the Athenians have nothing more to do ; and if thou wilt not stay, we will take up our people from this island and sail to Siris in Italy, which is ours from ancient times, and to

which the oracles have commanded us to send settlers. When we are gone, ye will remember what I said.' VIII.

Then Eurybiades agreed to stay and fight at Salamis, because he knew that they would be no match for the enemy if the Athenians went away; so they made ready for the battle. And the next day, as the sun rose, there was an earthquake both by land and sea; so they called on the children of Aiakos to come and help them. Aias¹ and Telamon they brought from Salamis itself; but they sent a ship to Aigina for Aiakos and the rest of his kinsfolk.² 63

Now Dikaïos, an Athenian, who was with the Persians, being an exile, said that, while they were plundering Athens which had been forsaken by its people, he chanced to be with Demaratos the Lacedæmonian in the Thriasian plain, and saw a cloud of dust coming from Eleusis, such as might be raised by myriads of men. While they gazed at this cloud, wondering what men they might be, they heard a voice which sounded like the cry of the mysteries; and Demaratos, who knew not the sacred rites of Eleusis, asked him what the voice said, and he answered, 'Demaratos, some great evil will befall the army of the king, for, as all the men of Attica have left their country, it must be the 65

¹ Ajax.

² See Livy, x. 47, xxix. 10, 11.

VIII. voice of a god who is going from Eleusis to aid the Athenians and their allies. If the cloud goes towards Peloponnesos, the king himself and his land army are in jeopardy; if it turns towards the ships in Salamis, it is his fleet which will suffer. Every year the Athenians keep the feast here to the Great Mother and her Child, and any of the Greeks who will, may be taught these mysteries; and the voice which thou hearest is the cry which they use in this feast.' Then Demaratos answered, 'Say not a word of this to anyone. If the king hears it thou wilt lose thy head, nor will anyone be able to deliver thee. Keep thy counsel, and let the gods take care of his army.' After this voice the dust-storm rose into a cloud and was borne on high in the direction of Salamis towards the ships of the Greeks; and so they knew that the fleet of Xerxes must be destroyed. Such was the tale of Dikaïos, to which Demaratos and others bear witness.

66 In the meanwhile the Persians, who, after seeing the dead in Thermopylai, had tarried for three days in Histiaia, sailed through the Euripos and in three days more reached the haven of Phalêron; and the number of those who came to Athens by land and sea was not much less than the number of those who reached Sepias and Thermopylai. For over against those who perished by the storms and those who died in Thermopylai, we must set

those who had not yet followed the king, the Me-
lians and Dorians and Lokrians, together with
all the Boiotians (except the men of Thespiæ and
Plataiæ), and the people of Karystos, Andros, and
Tenos, and of all the other islands, except the five
cities which have been already named.¹ For the
further that the Persian went, the more people
went with him.

When the ships had reached Phalæron, Xerxes
himself went down to the fleet, because he wished
to see it and to hear the judgment of those who
sailed in it. So the leaders and chieftains of the
nations were gathered before him, and they sat
down each as the king gave them honour, the
king of Sidon first, and next to him the king of
Tyre, and so with the rest. After which Xerxes
sent Mardonios to each of them to ask whether
they should fight by sea. So Mardonios went to
all, and all gave counsel to fight, except Arte-
misia, who said, 'Tell the king, I pray you, Mar-
donios, that this is the judgment of a woman
who has not shown herself a coward in the battles
off Eubœia, and who is bound to give him her
best counsel; and say to him, Spare thy ships,
for by sea their men are as much better than thine
as men are stronger than women. And what need
is there to fight by sea? Hast thou not Athens,
for which thou camest hither, with the rest of

¹ See page 137. Herodotus viii. 46.

VIII. Hellas? None stand in thy way; they who did so are gone, as it was but right that they should go. If then thou wilt keep thy ships by the land, or even if thou goest on to the Peloponnesos, all things will be according to thy mind, for the enemy cannot hold out long and will soon be scattered among their cities. They have but little corn, as I hear, in this island, nor is it likely, if thy army is sent to Peloponnesos, that they who belong to it will care to stay and fight for the Athenians at Salamis. But if thou wilt fight, I fear that thy fleet may suffer and cause hurt to thy men on land; and ponder yet this one thing, O king! Good men have commonly bad servants, and evil men have good ones. And thou, who art the best of men, hast evil servants who call themselves thy friends, men of Egypt and Cyprus, of Pamphylia and Kilikia, who are of no use at
69 all.' As she thus spake to Mardonios, they who were well-minded to her were grieved, because they thought that the king would punish her; and they who hated and envied her because she was held in great honour by the king, rejoiced that she would now perish. But when Xerxes heard it, he was greatly pleased with her judgment, and honoured her yet more. Still he followed the counsel of the rest, thinking that his men had been cowards at Euboia because he had not been present, but now they knew that he would look upon them while they fought.

When the order was given for battle, they put out to sea over against Salamis; but there was no time to fight that day, for the night came on before they had well arranged themselves. But they made ready for the next day, while the Greeks were in fear and trembling (and chiefly the men of Peloponnesos, because they thought that, if they should be beaten, they would be shut up in the island and leave their own land unguarded). That same night the land army of the Persians moved on towards the Peloponnesos, where all things had been done to prevent their coming in. For when they heard of the death of Leonidas, they hastened to the Isthmus with Kleombrotos, the brother of Leonidas, for their leader, and, blocking up the Skironid road, built a wall across the Isthmus. This work was soon finished, as the people were many myriads, and every one worked with all their strength by day and by night, carrying stones and brick, logs of wood, and bags full of sand. Here were gathered the Lacedæmonians and Arkadians, the men of Elis and Corinth, Sikyon and Epidauros, Phlious, Troizen, and Hermionê. The other Peloponnesians cared nothing for the danger of Hellas, or, if we may speak the truth, really took the king's side while they professed to take neither. Thus hard did they work at the Isthmus, as struggling for their last chance, and because they thought that

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viii. they would win no great glory with their ships. In like manner the men in Salamis were afraid, not so much for themselves as for the Peloponnesos. For a time they spoke quietly in knots of men, marvelling at the folly of Eurybiades, but at last they burst out into loud voices ; and an assembly was gathered, and there was much talk about the same things, the one side saying that they would not stay to fight for a land which had been already taken, while the Athenians and the men of Aigina and Megara besought them to remain.

75 When Themistokles saw that he could not prevail, he went secretly out of the council and sent to the Persian fleet a man named Sikinnos, who was his servant and the teacher of his children, and whom he afterwards enriched and made a citizen of Thespiæ. This man came with his message to the leaders of the Persians and said, 'Themistokles, the general of the Athenians, has sent me, without the knowledge of the other Greeks (for he is well-minded to the king and would rather that ye conquered than the Greeks), to tell you that they are going to run away from dread of you. And now may ye win great glory by hindering them from escaping, for they do not agree among themselves, neither will they withstand you ; and you will see those who take your
76 side fighting against those who do not.'¹ Having

¹ This first embassy of Sikinnos to Xerxes seems to furnish a

thus spoken, Sikinnos departed ; and the Persians, believing his tale, landed many men on the small island of Psyttaleia which lies between Salamis and the mainland ; and at midnight they sailed

VIII.

significant contradiction to the most serious of the charges urged against Themistokles. The whole career of this great leader shows that he was determined to resist the progress of the Persian forces whenever and wherever it was possible for him to do so. He was therefore resolved to fight at Artemision and at Salamis ; yet we are told that he was bribed to fight at Artemision by a gift of thirty talents from the Euboians. But a man cannot be said to be bribed or persuaded into doing that which he had resolved to do before : and it seems a contradiction in terms to assert that by this bribe Themistokles was tempted to do that which he had wished and probably tried to accomplish without the bribe. But whether with or without the money, he failed in keeping the allies at Artemision, and it seemed as though he must fail to retain them at Salamis. In this strait his ready wit devised a method for determining the action of the allies ; but it is strange that this device has nothing to do with bribery. At Artemision three talents had furnished to the Corinthian Adeimantos an effectual argument for submitting to the will of Themistokles. The latter, according to Herodotus, still had twenty-two talents of the Euboian money in his hands. Why then did he not bribe Adeimantos again ? Instead of this, he addresses his persuasions to the Persian leaders. His stratagem was successful : but the accounts given of it are inconsistent. Æschylus, a contemporary poet, represents him as sending his messenger not to the Persian leaders, but to Xerxes himself, and speaks of the king as charging his generals on their lives to see that not one of the enemy escaped them. The poet's statement is certainly in this instance more probable than that of the historian, and may be accepted as substantially correct.

viii. with the western wing of their fleet inclining in towards Salamis, while they who were placed at Keos and Kynosoura also put to sea and filled the whole gulf as far as Mounychia with their ships, that so it might not be possible for the Greeks to fly, and that, being caught in Salamis, they might pay the penalty for all the mischief done at Artemision. And the men were placed in Psytaleia because it lay straight in the way of the battle, and the men and ships would be carried thither by the stream ; and so they would be able to take the ships and to slay the men. That night they never slept, but made ready for the fight in silence, that the enemy might not hear them.

77 Now I venture not to say that oracles are untrue, nor, after looking at such matters, do I wish to upset them when they speak plainly as Bakis speaks in this one :

‘ When men shall span with ships the sacred shore of Artemis who wears the golden sword, and Kynosoura on the sea,

‘ After they have sacked beautiful Athens in foolish daring,

‘ Then divine Justice shall destroy strong Pride, the son of Wantonness,

‘ As he rages in his fury, thinking to bend all things to his will.

‘ For brass shall clash with brass, and Arês shall tinge the sea with blood.

‘Then the son of Kronos of the broad brow, VIII.
and mighty Nikê shall bring to Hellas the day of
her freedom.’

Against such plain words I dare not speak myself, nor can I listen to those who do.

All this time there was a fierce strife of words 78
among the generals in Salamis, for they knew
not that the barbarians were encircling them with
their ships, but fancied that they were still
arranged as they had seen them in the evening.
But while they were still talking, there crossed 79
over from Aigina Aristeides the son of Lysimachos, an Athenian who had been banished by
the people, and whom I believe to have been one
of the best and most upright men in Athens, having
had good knowledge of his life. This man
came to the council and called out Themistokles,
who was no friend to him but altogether his
enemy. But, in the greatness of the present
sorrow, he put all those things out of mind, because
he wished to speak with him and because
he had heard that the Peloponnesians wished to
take the ships away to the Isthmus. And when
he saw him, he said, ‘We may fight out our
quarrel hereafter :¹ let us strive now who can do

¹ Herodotus seems to know nothing of the fact (if it be a fact) stated by Plutarch, that the ostracism of Aristeides and other exiles had been revoked before the fight at Salamis, at the urgent desire of Themistokles himself.

VIII. most good to his country. It matters not now whether much be said or little about the sailing away from Salamis to the Isthmus. I have seen with my own eyes and know that even if the Corinthians and Eurybiades himself should wish to flee, they cannot do so now, for the enemy are round us in a circle. Go in and tell them so.'

80 And Themistokles said, 'Thy words and thy tidings are both good, for thou sayest that thou hast seen that which I most wished should happen. What the Medes have done, they have done through me, for it was but right, when the Greeks would not fight willingly, that they should be made to do so against their will. But as thou hast brought this good news, bear them in thyself; for if I say this, they will think my words false, and will not believe that the barbarians are so doing. Tell them then thyself how it is. If they believe, it is well; if not, it will make no difference to us, for they cannot escape if, as
81 thou sayest, we are surrounded.' So Aristeides went in, and told them, adding that he had scarcely been able himself to escape the ships which were surrounding the island. But again there was yet more strife, for the more part of the leaders would not believe his tidings, until there came a Tenian trireme which had deserted the fleet of Xerxes, and brought them the whole truth. In return for this, the Tenians had their

name engraven on the tripod at Delphi among the names of those who helped to destroy the barbarian. This ship, with the Lemnian vessel which had forsaken the Persians at Artemision, made up the fleet of the Greeks to two hundred and eighty ships. VIII.

Then at last the Greeks believed and made ⁸³ ready for battle. And as the day was dawning, Themistokles cheered them on for the fight, putting everything in the fairest light to stir up men who were downhearted; and, bidding them be strong and of good courage, he told them to go on board their ships. And as they were embarking, the trireme came from Aigina which had been sent to fetch the children of Aiakos. Then the Greeks put out to sea with all their ships, and immediately the barbarians came forward to meet ⁸⁴ them. But while the other Greeks for some time backed water and even touched ground, an Athenian named Ameinias ran his ship into the enemy, and as it was thus entangled and could not get free, the rest came up to help him, and so began the battle. The Aiginetans say, however, that the battle was commenced by the trireme which went to bring the children of Aiakos; and the tale is also told that a form as of a woman was seen, which cried out in a voice heard by all the army of Greeks, 'Good men, how long will ye back water?'

VIII. 85 Fronting the Athenians were placed the Phœnicians, who had the wing towards Eleusis and the west; and the Ionians, towards the east and the Peiræus, faced the Lacedæmonians. Few of them, however, hung back in the battle, as Themistokles had sought to make them. Many of them, indeed, took some ships of the Greeks; but I will give the names of two Samians, Theomestor and Phylakos, of whom the former was made tyrant of Samos by the Persians, and the other received much land and was written down among the benefactors of the king.

86 Most of the Persian ships were lost in Salamis, some being destroyed by the Athenians, others by the Aiginetans. It could hardly have happened otherwise, since the Greeks fought in good order, while their enemies fell out of their ranks and did nothing wisely. Yet they were altogether braver here than they were in Eubœia, through fear and dread of Xerxes, for each man thought that the eye of the king was resting upon him. But how each fought on either side, we know nothing as certain, except in the case of Artemisia, whose ship was chased by an Athenian vessel. Before her were only ships of her own side; and as the enemy was close upon her, she ran into a Kalyndian ship in which was their king Damasithymos. Whether she did so purposely because there had been any quarrel be-

tween them, or whether the Kalyndians fell foul of her by chance, it is hard to say ; but by this deed she profited in two ways. The trierarch of the Athenian ship, on seeing her run into one of the enemy's vessels, thought that her ship was a Greek one or else was deserting from the Persians, and so turned away to chase the others. And, besides this, she won yet greater praise and glory from Xerxes who saw the deed with his own eyes, for some one said to him, 'Dost thou see, O king, how bravely Artemisia fights, and that she has sunk a ship of the enemy?' But he doubted whether it really was Artemisia who had done this ; and when they said that they knew her ship from the sign which it carried, Xerxes answered, 'My men are women, and the women men.'

In this struggle Ariabignes the brother of Xerxes fell, and many great men of the Persians and the Medes ; and some also of the Greeks were slain, but not many,—for these, not being crushed together in the fight, and knowing how to swim, escaped to Salamis. But the barbarians could not swim ; and when the first ships turned to flee, then there followed a terrible destruction, for those which were drawn up behind pressed forward to reach the front and do something for the king, and so got entangled with the vessels which were hurrying away. In this uproar some Phœnicians who had lost their ships came to the king and

VIII.

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- VIII. charged the Ionians with having destroyed their ships and betrayed them. But while they were thus speaking, a Samothrakian vessel ran into a ship from Athens and sank it, while one from Aigina ran into the Samothrakian ship. Then these Samothrakians with the javelins drove the men of the conquering ship from the deck into the sea, and took their vessel; and this deed saved the Ionians. For Xerxes, on seeing it, turned to the Phœnicians in a rage, and commanded their heads to be struck off, that they might not lay their own cowardice to the charge of braver men.
- 91 So the barbarians fled; and as they sailed towards Phaléron, the Aiginetans met them boldly in the strait and destroyed those ships which made their escape from the Athenians in the battle. But
- 93 all who could, hastened to Phaléron and joined the land army. In this fight the Aiginetans and Athenians won the greatest glory, and among the men who were most honoured were Polykritos of Aigina and the Athenian Ameinias who chased Artemisia. Had this man known whom he was pursuing, he would never have stopped until he had taken her or been taken himself; for there was a prize of ten thousand drachmas to the man who should take her alive, and all the Athenians were zealous against her, being vexed that a
- 94 woman should come against Athens. But Adeimantos the Corinthian, as the Athenians say, fled

at the beginning of the fight in great terror; and the rest of the Corinthians, seeing their leader hurrying away, made haste to follow him. But while they were opposite to the temple of Athênê Skiras, a boat which no one was known to have sent¹ met them, and the men in it cried out, ‘So, Adeimantos, thou hast basely forsaken the Greeks, who are now conquering their enemies as much as they had ever hoped to do.’ But Adeimantos believed them not, until they said that they would go back with him and consent to die if their words were not true. Then they turned their ships about and joined the Athenians when the battle was ended. This is the Athenian tale; but the Corinthians maintain that they were amongst the foremost in the battle; and the rest of the Greeks confirm their words. VIII.

In the uproar of the fight, when the Persians 95 began to fly, Aristeides the Athenian, who has been already named, landed a large number of hoplites on the island of Psyttaleia, and slew every one of the Persians who were upon it. So the battle was 96

¹ τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα. Mr. Rawlinson asserts that this was a ‘phantom ship:’ Mr. Grote’s words (History of Greece, vol. v. p. 197) do not imply a similar belief. Mr. Rawlinson’s adopted translation appears drawn up to suit his supposition; for the words, ‘a very strange apparition,’ can hardly be taken to translate *θείη πομπή*: nor would the expression *θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα* necessarily mean ‘that there was something beyond nature in the matter.’ Herodotus, vol. iv. p. 339.

VIII. ended, and the Greeks drew up all the disabled ships which were there, on the shore of Salamis, and made ready for another fight, thinking that the king would bring up against them the ships that still remained to him. But the south-west wind carried many of the wrecks towards the shore of Attica which is called Kôlias, and so fulfilled the oracle of Bakis and Mousaios and also the saying of an Athenian soothsayer many years before, that the women of Kôlias should bake their bread with oars. This saying no one had understood, but it came to pass now on the flight of the king.

97 When Xerxes knew all that had happened, he dreaded lest the Ionians should put it into the minds of the Greeks to go and loose the bridges at the Hellespont, or should sail away and do it themselves, leaving him to perish with all his army in Europe. But while he designed to fly, he wished to keep it secret from his own people as well as from the enemy, and sought to carry a mole from the mainland to Salamis, and tied Phœnician merchant-ships together to serve instead of a bridge and wall. All who saw him thus making ready for another fight thought that he was altogether bent on remaining to carry on the war. But Mardonios saw clearly what he was minded to do, for he knew the king's thoughts well. And while he was thus doing, he sent a mes-

senger home to tell the Persians of all his misery. VIII.
 These messengers go quicker than any other 98
 mortals. At the end of each day's journey stand
 a man and a horse ready to carry on the message;
 and neither snow nor rain, heat nor darkness,
 hinders them from doing their task as swiftly as
 possible. Thus the first man gives the message
 to the second, and the second to the third, until
 they reach the end, just as in the Feast of Torches
 which the Greeks keep in honour of Hephaistos.
 Now the first message which reached Sousa, to say 99
 that Xerxes had taken Athens, so delighted the
 Persians that they covered the roads with myrtle-
 branches and burnt incense and made merry with
 burnt offerings and feasting; but the second
 message so dismayed them that all rent their
 clothes and filled the air with their cries as they
 laid the blame upon Mardonios, not so much be-
 cause they were grieved for the loss of the ships
 as because they feared for the life of the king.
 And so the Persians went on mourning until 100
 Xerxes himself came home. But Mardonios, when
 he saw that Xerxes was greatly cast down by the
 issue of the fight and that he purposed to fly from
 Athens, knew that he would himself suffer for
 having persuaded the king to go against the
 Greeks. So he thought it better to run the risk
 and enslave Hellas, or die nobly striving for a
 great end; and he went therefore to the king

VIII. and said, 'O king, be not grieved and cast down at what has happened; for that which matters most to us is a struggle not with wood but with men and horses. With these, not one of the men who think that they have utterly destroyed thy power by sea will dare to face thee; and they who have so dared, have paid the penalty. If, then, it seem good to thee, let us march straightway against the Peloponnesos. But if not, be of good cheer, for it is impossible for the Greeks to escape being made thy slaves and suffering for all the evil that they have done. This then is my counsel, if thy mind is fixed to go away thyself. Make us not, O king, a laughing-stock to the Greeks. Our power is not destroyed; we have nowhere shown ourselves cowards; and how are we, Persians, the worse, because Phœnicians and Egyptians, Cyprians and Kilikians have brought disgrace upon themselves? So, then, if thou must go, take with thee the greater part of the army; and I promise to make all the Greeks thy slaves, if thou wilt let me choose thirty myriads out of all thy host.'

101 These words brought joy to Xerxes in his sorrow; and he said to Mardonios that he would give him his answer after taking counsel with others. So, together with the noblest of the Persians, he sent also for Artemisia, because she alone before this seemed to know what ought to

be done. When she came, he put all the others out, and then said to her, 'Mardonios presses me to stay here and march against the Peloponnesos, telling me that the Persians and the land army are not in fault, and that with them we can win the victory. Or, if I go away, he undertakes to conquer all Hellas for me, if I leave him thirty myriads of men chosen out of my army. Now before the sea-fight thy counsel was good. Show me, then, in which way I can act most wisely now.' And she said, 'O king, it is ¹⁰² not easy to hit upon the best advice. Still, as things have gone, I think it best for thee to go away, and leave Mardonios with his thirty myriads to do as he has promised. If he shall accomplish all that he hopes and undertakes to do, it becomes thy doing, because thy slaves have done it. If things go against him, the harm is not great; for, while thou art safe and all thy house, the Greeks will have to do battle many times yet for their freedom; but if Mardonios falls, it matters not. The Greeks win no victory by destroying thy slave; and thou hast already done that for which thou camest, by burning the city of the Athenians.'

With these words he was much pleased, for Artemisia ¹⁰³ happened to speak his own mind; and, indeed, if all, both men and women, had counselled him to stay, I do not think that he would have done

viii. it,—so great was his fear. Then he praised her greatly and sent her with Hermotimos of Pédasa, to take his own children who had followed
107 him, back to Ephesos. After this he called Mardonios, and told him to choose out what men he pleased, and to do zealously as he had promised. And when the night came, the captains sailed away from Phaléron at the bidding of the king, and hastened with all the ships as quickly as they could to the Hellespont, there to guard the bridges till the king should come. As they approached Cape Zôstêr, they took some slender rocks, which here jut out into the sea, to be ships, and they fled for a long way; but at last they found out that they were not ships, but rocks, and, coming into line again, sailed on in good order.

108 When the day broke, the Greeks, seeing the army where it was before, thought that the ships also were at Phaléron, and made ready for battle. But when they learnt that all were gone, they hastened to go after them, but could not come up with them, although they sailed as far as Andros. There they took counsel; and Themistokles advised that they should immediately follow the ships through the islands to the Hellespont, and there destroy the bridges. But Eurybiades held that this was the worst thing that they could do; for if the Persians should be so cut off and

compelled to stay in Europe, they could never remain quiet, because, if they did, they could neither live there nor get back to their own land but all would die of hunger; and if Xerxes should act bravely, he might overrun the cities of Europe one by one, and eat up the corn of the Greeks, year by year, as it ripened. He thought, however, that Xerxes would not remain in Europe, now that he had been beaten in the sea-fight; and so it would be best to let him fly, and, after that, to carry the war into his own land. And with him agreed all the leaders of the Peloponnesians. VIII.

When, therefore, Themistokles saw that he 109 could not hope to persuade the greater number, he turned to the Athenians, who were most angered at the flight of the Persians and wished to sail by themselves to the Hellespont even if no one else would go, and said to them: 'I have often seen myself, and I hear that it generally happens, that men, who have been conquered, turn to bay when hardly pushed, and wipe out the old disgrace. Now our own safety, and that of Hellas, is a godsend to us, who have driven back so huge a swarm of men. Let us not chase them as they fly. For these things have been brought about not by us, but by the gods and heroes, who were jealous that Europe and Asia should be ruled by one impious and unholy man,

VIII. who, treating temples and houses in the same way, cast down and burnt the shrines of the gods, and, scourging the sea, threw fetters into it. Thus, then, have we prospered; and it is best for us to stay in Hellas and look to ourselves and our households. Let everyone rebuild his house, and work hard to till and sow his ground, when we have clean driven the barbarian out; and when the spring comes, we can sail for the Hellespont and Ionia.' This he said to leave himself a loophole with the Persians, if (as came about afterwards) he should suffer any wrong at the hands of the Athenians.

110 This judgment, then, they followed, for they believed him with all readiness, because to his old repute for wisdom he had added counsels which had all prospered. And as soon as they had agreed to do this, he sent in a boat some men, whom he could trust for keeping silence under any tortures, with a message to the king. Among these again was Sikinnos, the teacher of his children, who, on reaching Attica, went to Xerxes while the rest remained in the boat, and said: 'Themistokles, the leader of the Athenians, and the best and wisest of all the Greeks, has sent me to say that, out of good-will to thee, he has held back the allies from chasing thy ships and breaking up the bridges at the Hellespont:

so go thy way in peace.' After which, Sikinnos VIII.
and his men sailed away again.¹

But the Greeks, having given up the thought 111
of sailing to the Hellespont, remained at Andros

¹ If the first message of Sikinnos may be accepted as a fact, the second, as related to us, is incredible. Themistokles, it is said, sought by means of it to provide for himself a refuge in the time of trouble, which even then he anticipated. This, if it be a fact, is one of the most astonishing in history. It is perhaps beyond our power to realise the idea of such treachery: but some notion of it may be formed if we should suppose that when Nelson before the fight at Trafalgar warned every man that England looked to him to do his duty, he had already done his best to secure the future goodwill of the enemies whom he was advancing to encounter. There were, however, other versions which, far from agreeing with the story of Herodotus, spoke of Themistokles as terrifying Xerxes by a warning that he might be intercepted on the road. It is quite possible that he may have sent such a message as this; and therefore Thirlwall justly rejects the double meaning which is alleged to lie in the message, on the ground 'that such a conjecture might very naturally be formed after the event, but would scarcely have been thought probable before it.' (*History of Greece*, ii. 314.) But the message, like many other incidents in the narrative of Herodotus, is quite superfluous. Xerxes, it is said, had already made up his mind to return home at once; and the story implies an amount of credulity on his part which the most credulous of fools would scarcely exhibit. His compliance with the first message had brought about the destruction of his fleet: was it possible that he could fail to regard the second as intended to accomplish his own? If he received the first message, he must have looked on Themistokles as a liar determined to compass his death by fair means or foul.

viii. and besieged it. For Themistokles had gone to the Andrians first of all the islanders and asked them for money, telling them that the Athenians were come with two gods named Persuasion and Need, and therefore they must give. But they answered that Athens was indeed a great city and had many excellent gods, but the Andrians were poor and weak, and that two worthless gods, named Poverty and Helplessness, would never leave their island, and so they could give nothing so long as these gods stuck close to them, since the power of the Athenians could not be greater than their own want of means. Hereupon the
112 Greeks besieged them, while Themistokles sent the same messengers to the other islands, with threatening words, telling them that, if they refused to give, he would bring the army of the Greeks upon them and destroy their cities. In this way he got much money from the men of Karystos and of Paros, who, hearing of the siege of Andros and that Themistokles had more weight than the other generals, gave through fear. Perhaps also some other islands gave, but it is not certain. Yet the Karystians were not better off because they gave, although the Parians by their gift kept away the fleet of the Greeks; and Themistokles gained much money from the islanders without the knowledge of the other leaders.

113 After remaining a few days longer, Xerxes

marched with all his army into Boiotia; for Mardonios wished to conduct the king on his journey, and it was now no fit time for fighting. So he thought to spend the winter in Thessaly, and, when the spring came, to go against the Peloponnesos. Then, in Thessaly, Mardonios chose out the men whom he wanted; and he took, first, the Persians who are called Immortals (except their leader Hydarnes, who would not leave the king), and after these the men who wore breastplates, with the thousand horsemen, then the Medes and Sakai, Baktrians and Indians, both footmen and horsemen. Of these he took all, but from the other nations he picked out a few, either for stature or for their courage. But the Persians were the largest nation that he chose, men who wore chains and bracelets, and next to them the Medes, who were weaker than the Persians in strength only; and thus with the horsemen he made up his thirty myriads.

While Mardonios was thus choosing out his¹¹⁴ men and Xerxes lingered in Thessaly, there came an oracle from Delphi to the Lacedæmonians, bidding them demand recompense from Xerxes for the slaughter of Leonidas, and take what he should give them. So they sent a herald forthwith, who hastened into Thessaly and coming to Xerxes, said, 'O king of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians with the children of Herakles who live

viii. at Sparta, demand recompense for murder, because thou hast slain their king while he was defending Hellas.' Then the king laughed, and after some time pointed to Mardonios who chanced to be standing near, and said, 'Well, then, my friend Mardonios shall give to you such recompense as may be fit.' And with this promise the herald went away.

115 So Xerxes left Mardonios in Thessaly, and going on with all speed to the Hellespont reached the place of crossing in five-and-forty days, with little of his army left. All along their road they had seized and eaten the corn of the men through whose land they chanced to be passing; and if they found none, they gathered grass to eat, and stripped off the leaves and bark of trees, and left nothing in their fierce hunger; and then came sickness and pestilence which wasted the army. Those who were sick Xerxes left behind, charging the men of each city to take care of them and to feed them, in Thessaly, Paionia, and Macedonia. Here also he had left the sacred chariot of Zeus as he went into Hellas, but on his return he could not get it again. The Paionians had given it to the Thracians, and when Xerxes asked for it, they told him that it had been stolen by the men who live by the fountains of the river Strymon. Here also there was a chieftain of the Bisaltai in the land of Kreston, who had refused to follow

Xerxes and gone away to the mountain of Rhodopê, charging his sons not to march with him into Hellas. But they heeded not his words, or perhaps wished to see the fighting; and when all six returned home safe and sound, their father put out their eyes, and so they were rewarded. VIII.

When, from Thrace, the Persians reached the place of passage, they were ferried as quickly as possible across the Hellespont in ships to Abydos, for they found the bridges unloosed by a storm. There they halted, and, finding more food than anywhere on their road, filled themselves as they could, and by reason of this and the change of water many of those who remained died. The rest reached Sardes with the king. 117

There is, however, another tale told, that in his flight from Athens Xerxes went no further by land than to Eïon which is on the Strymon, and there left Hydarnes to guide the army to the Hellespont, while he himself went on board a Phœnician ship and sailed to Asia. On the way they were caught by the Strymonian wind, which raised a heavy sea and made the ship take in much water. Then, as the deck was crowded with Persians who were with him, the king was greatly dismayed, and prayed the pilot to tell him if there was any hope of safety; and the pilot said, 'There is none, unless we can ease the ship of the crowd within it.' Then Xerxes, turning to the Persians, said, 118

- viii. 'Now, O Persians, show that ye care for the king, for my life depends on you ;' and they, on hearing this, did obeisance and leaped into the sea, and the ship so lightened reached Asia in safety. As soon as they landed, Xerxes gave the pilot a golden crown for saving the life of the king, and then cut off
 119 his head for losing the lives of his men. This is the tale, but I do not believe it ; for, even if the pilot had so spoken to Xerxes, not one in ten thousand will gainsay me, that the king would not have sent men who were Persians, and the noblest of the Persians, down from the deck into the body of the ship, and cast out into the sea a number of Phœnician sailors equal to that of the
 120 Persians. There is also yet this other proof that he went all the way by land, for when he reached Abdera he made a treaty of friendship with the people and gave them a golden dagger and turban ; and, as the men of Abdera say, although I do not believe them, he there loosed his girdle for the first time since he left Athens, as thinking himself at last in safety.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREATNESS OF THEMISTOKLES AND THE ATHENIANS.—
MARDONIOS AT ATHENS.—THE FEAST OF ATTAGINOS.

Street and temple—scathed and shattered
 All Athênê's city lies;
 From its ruins, thick and choking
 Clouds of smoke and ashes rise:
 None are there to mourn the ravage,
 Gods and men have passed away:
 Through the shrines of blessed heroes
 Prowl at will the beasts of prey.

WHEN the Greeks found that they could not take Andros, they went to Karystos and having wasted the land returned to Salamis, and put aside the first-fruits for the gods, among which were three Phœnician triremes. Of these, one was dedicated at the Isthmus and remained to my time, the second at Sounion, the third to Aias¹ at Salamis itself. After this they shared the spoils and sent the first-fruits to Delphi. From these there was made the figure of a man (twelve cubits in height) holding in his hand the beak of a ship, which

Herodotus
VIII. 121

¹ Ajax.

- viii. stands close to the golden statue of Alexander,
 122 the Macedonian. When they sent these spoils to Delphi, they asked the god in common if the first-fruits given to him were enough; and the answer was that he had enough from the other Greeks, but that the Aiginetans must pay that which was due for the victory at Salamis. So they dedicated golden stars which stand by the brazen loom near the mixing-bowl of Cræsus.
- 123 After the sharing of the spoil, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus to give the prize for bravery to the man who had done best in the war. So when the generals placed on the altar of Poseidon the votes by which they marked the first and the second best men of all, it was found that each general had given the first place to himself, but that almost all had given the second to Themistokles, who was thus shown to be by far the greatest.
- 124 This, however, the Greeks would not approve, and sailed away each to his own land without giving judgment; but none the less was the name of Themistokles spread abroad through all Hellas for his wisdom. And when soon after this, he went to Lacedæmon, the people received him gladly and honoured him greatly, giving him a wreath of olives for his wisdom and cleverness, and the finest chariot in Sparta. And three hundred chosen Spartans who were called the Horsemen led him back as far as the land of Tegea; and he

is the first man whom the Spartans, as it would seem, ever escorted on his road. But when he reached Athens, Timodêmos of Aphidna, who was his enemy, began to chide him vehemently, telling him that the Lacedæmonians had honoured him not for his own sake but because he was an Athenian. When Timodêmos had ended his words, Themistokles said, ‘ Well, if I had been a man of Belbina I should not have been so honoured by the Spartans ; but neither wouldst thou have been honoured even though a citizen of Athens.’ VIII.

Now Artabazos, the son of Pharnakes, a man of note among the Persians, had guided the king as far as the Hellespont, with six myriads of the men whom Mardonios chose out of the army. And when he reached Pallênê on his way back (as Mardonios was spending the winter in Thesaly and did not yet need him), Artabazos determined, now that he was near them, to attack the men of Potidaia, who, after the flight of the king and of his ships from Salamis, had openly revolted against him, as also had all the others who dwelt in Pallênê. So he besieged Potidaia and also Olynthos. This last place he took, and leading all the men out to the lake slew them there, and gave the city to Kritoboulos of Toronê and the Chalkidians. And while he urged on the siege of Potidaia, Timoxenos, the leader of the Skiônaians, agreed to betray the place to him ; and whenever 125
126
127
128

viii. he wished to write to Artabazos or Artabazos to him, they rolled the letter round an arrow and shot it into a certain place on which they had fixed. At last the trick was found out, for Artabazos, missing his mark one day, hit the shoulder of a Potidaian, round whom a crowd gathered, and finding a letter wrapped round the arrow, carried it to the generals. But they did not punish Timoxenos for his treachery, that the men of Skiônê might not be held traitors for all time to come.

129 When the siege had lasted three months, there was a great ebbing of the sea for a long time, and the barbarians, seeing that the water was quite shallow, crossed over to Pallênê. But when nearly half of them had passed over, the sea flowed in again with a great wall of water, and those who could not swim were drowned, while they who could swim were slain by the Potidaians who came out in boats to kill them. This ebbing and return of the sea, the Potidaians rightly say, was caused by the Persians who were drowned, because they profaned the temple of Poseidon and the shrine which stands before the city. Those who escaped were led back by Artabazos into Thessaly.

130 But most of the ships which still remained to Xerxes, after they had ferried the king and his army across to Abydos, passed the winter at Kymê, and, when the spring came, sailed over to Samos, where some of them had wintered. But they

never ventured to go farther westward, nor was there anything to make them ; but they remained at Samos with three hundred ships, including those of the Ionians, to prevent the Ionians from revolting. The Greeks, they thought, would be content to guard their own land, because they had not chased them after the fight at Salamis. On the sea, then, they were much cast down ; but on land they thought that Mardonios was sure to win the battle. So, while they remained in Samos, they tried to see if they could in any way harm the enemy, and at the same time sought eagerly to learn how things might go with Mardonios. VIII.

In the spring, the ships of the Greeks met at Aigina, under the admiral Leotychides, of the house of Prokles, the child of Herakles ; and the leader of the Athenians was Xanthippos, the son of Aripbron. Soon there came messengers from Ionia, who had been to Sparta to ask them to deliver the Ionians from slavery, and now came with the same prayer to Aigina. With much difficulty they prevailed with them to go as far as Delos. Beyond this the Greeks knew nothing of the land, and fancied that every place was full of their enemies, so that to sail on to Samos seemed to them as great a thing as to sail to the Pillars of Herakles. Thus the barbarians ventured not to sail farther west than Samos, and the Greeks dreaded to sail farther east than Delos ; and that

viii. which lay beyond was a land of terrors for both.

133 When Mardonios was setting out from Thessaly, he sent a man named Mûs to ask the will of all the gods whose oracles he might be able to visit. Why he did this is not clear, but in all likelihood it was only to learn what he ought to do in his own
 134 matters. So Mûs went to Lebadeia to consult Trophonios, to Abai of the Phokians, and to the
 135 Ismenian Apollo at Thebes. After this he went to the Ptoan temple near Akraiphia on the banks of the lake Kopais. Into this temple three citizens followed him to write down the answer, whatever it might be. But the seer spoke in a barbarous tongue, and the Thebans marvelled to hear such sounds instead of their own language, while Mûs wrote down the words, telling them that the prophet was using the speech of the Karians,
 136 and so went away to Thessaly. On reading the answers Mardonios sent to Athens as a herald Alexander, the son of Amyntas the Macedonian, not only because there was a bond between him and the Persians (for his sister was married to a Persian named Boubares), but because he had been a friend and benefactor to the Athenians; for so he thought that he would best gain over that great and strong people, who, as he supposed, had chiefly brought about all the evils which the king had suffered by sea. With these on his side he thought,

truly that he would be master of the sea, and on land he fancied that he was much stronger already; and in all likelihood also the oracles may have bidden him to gain over the Athenians to be his friends. VIII.

So Alexander came to Athens and said, ‘Men 140 of Athens, thus saith Mardonios, There has come to me a message from the king, saying, “I forgive to the Athenians all the trespasses that they have committed against me; give them back therefore their own land, and let them further take any other land which they may choose, and let them be free; and, if they agree to these words, build up for them all the temples that I have burnt.” Now therefore I must do with all my might as the king commands, unless ye hinder me yourselves. And to you I say, why do ye thus madly make war against the king? Ye cannot win the victory, neither can ye hold out for ever. Ye saw the great host of Xerxes and their brave deeds; ye know the might which I have here now, and even if ye be stronger and can conquer me (which, if ye are wise, ye cannot think to do), there will come soon another host far greater than mine. Set not up yourselves then as equal to the king, and so lose your land and imperil your own lives; but make peace, for now can ye best do so. Be free, making a covenant with us without craft or treachery. This, men of Athens, is

VIII. the message which I have brought from Mardonios. Of my own good-will to you I say nothing: ye knew it well long ago. But I pray you to yield to Mardonios, for I see that ye cannot make war against the king for ever. If I had not seen this, I would never have brought such a message to you. The power of the king is beyond that of mortal men, and his hand reaches far. Unless then ye agree now, while they hold out to you great and good things, I am full of fear for you, because ye lie in the very path of the war, and with your country as a battleground for both sides ye must all perish. Yield, then, for the king does you a great honour by saying that to you alone of all the Greeks will he forgive their trespasses.'

141 But the Lacedæmonians had heard that Alexander had come to make the Athenians yield to the barbarian, and were greatly afraid when they called to mind the oracles which said that they and all the Dorians should be driven out of the Peloponnesos by the Athenians and the Medes. So they too sent messengers who were heard at the same time with Alexander, for the Athenians had long put off to hear him, feeling sure that the Lacedæmonians would send a messenger as soon
142 as they heard of the coming of Alexander. So, when the Macedonian had finished speaking, the messengers from Sparta rose and said, 'The

Lacedæmonians have sent us to pray you not to listen to the barbarian or do otherwise than as ye have done. For this would not be just or seemly in any of the Greeks, least of all in you ; and for these reasons. Ye brought this war upon us at no wish of ours ; and this struggle which now threatens to spread over all Hellas began from your land. Yet more ; it is not to be borne that Athenians should help to enslave the Greeks, when ye have always and everywhere striven to make men free. But in your sufferings we suffer also, because ye have now lost two harvests and have for a long time had no homes. And therefore the Lacedæmonians and their allies promise to feed your women and your households as long as the war shall last. Let not Alexander then prevail with you, by smoothing the words of Mardonios. A tyrant himself, he is likely to work with other tyrants ; and ye know that in barbarians there is neither faith nor trust.'

Then the Athenians made answer to Alexander ¹⁴³ and said, ' We know that the power of the Medes is much larger than ours, and there is no need to cast this in our teeth. But in the struggle for freedom we will beat them off with all our might. It is useless even for thee to try and make us agree with the barbarian, for we will never do so. And now tell Mardonios what we say : " As long as the sun shall keep the same path

VIII. in the heaven, we will never make peace with Xerxes; but we will face him, trusting in the help of gods and heroes, whom he has insulted by burning their homes and shrines." And never come again with such messages for Athenians, nor, under cloak of good advice, press them on to do abominable things, for we seek not that thou shouldst suffer any harm at our hands, when
144 thou art our guest and friend.' Then turning to the Spartans, they said, 'It was but doing like men that you should dread our making peace with the barbarian. But poorly indeed do ye seem to know the mind of the Athenians, for not all the gold throughout the world, not the richest and most beautiful land, could tempt us to take the part of the Medes and help to enslave Hellas. And even if we were willing so to do, there are many things to hinder us, and first and chiefly the shrines and dwellings of the gods which have been burnt and thrown down. And to take vengeance for this we must fight to the last rather than make peace with the man who has done such deeds. Yet more, the whole Hellenic race is of the same blood and speech with us; we share in common the temples of our gods; we have the same sacrifices and the same ways of life; and these the Athenians can never betray. Learn then now, if ye did not know it before, that, so long as but one Athenian shall remain, we will

never make any covenant with Xerxes. For your good-will to us we thank you, and that ye so care for our troubles as to wish to feed and support our households. We are grateful for this, but we will struggle on as well as we can, without giving you trouble. Hasten then to send out your army with all speed, for assuredly the barbarian will soon be in our land, when he learns that we will not do as he would have us; and we should hasten to meet him in Boiotia before he can advance as far as Attica.' VIII.

On the return of Alexander, Mardonios set out IX. 1 with all speed against Athens, taking with him all who lay in his road. And the Thessalians repented in nowise of all that they had done before. Thorax of Larissa guided Xerxes in his flight, and now he openly suffered Mardonios to pass into Hellas. And on reaching the Boiotian 2 land, the Thebans pressed him to stay there, telling him that there was no better place to encamp in, and that if he remained there he could conquer all Hellas without a battle; for by mere strength the Greeks could never win the day, even if they should be of the same mind as they had been before. 'Send money, then,' they said, 'to all the chiefs, and so break up their councils; and after that thou wilt easily subdue all who do not take thy side.' But Mardonios would in no 3 way listen to them, for he had a strange longing

IX. to take Athens, partly because the gods had blinded his eyes, and partly because he wished to send the news by fire-signals to the king at Sardes. So he came into Attica; but again the Athenians were gone, and he heard that most of them were in their ships at Salamis. Ten months had passed away from the time when Xerxes took Athens to the day when Mardonios came and found the city empty.

4 From Athens Mardonios sent a man of the Hellespont named Mourychides with the same message as that which he had given to Alexander, because, although he knew that the Athenians had no good-will towards him, he yet thought that they would lay aside their madness now that he again
5 had their country and city in his power. When the message was brought to their council, one man alone, named Lykidas, said that the words of Mardonios should be set before the people. On hearing this they were enraged, and so were those who were not of the council; and, gathering round him, they stoned him to death, while they sent Mourychides away unhurt. And when the Athenian women had heard of the tumult which had happened, they urged on one another, and, hastening of their own accord to the dwelling of Lykidas, stoned his wife and children.

6 Now the Athenians had remained in Attica as long as they thought that an army of the Pello-

ponnesians would soon come to aid them; but when they put off coming and the enemy was said to be in Boiotia, they carried everything away, and, crossing over to Salamis, sent messengers to rebuke the Lacedæmonians for suffering the barbarian to enter Attica without a battle, and to remind them how much the Persian had offered to them on behalf of the king, and that, if they did not at once send aid, the Athenians must find out some way of escape for themselves. But the Lacedæmonians were keeping a feast in 7 honour of the youth Hyakinthos whom Phœbus Apollo loved and slew, and before all things they must needs attend to this. Their wall at the Isthmus also was now rising high. So the messengers of the Athenians, bringing also others from the men of Megara and Plataiai, came to the ephors¹ and said, ‘We have been sent to tell you that the king of the Medes offers to give us back our country and seeks to have us for his friends in peace and war without craft or falsehood, and he is ready to give us moreover any other land which we ourselves may choose. But we feared the Hellenian Zeus, and it seemed to us a terrible thing to betray Hellas, and so we rejected his words, although the Greeks have been unjust and traitors to us, and although we knew very well that it was much more to our gain

¹ See Appendix II. on the Spartan Constitution.

ix. to make peace with the Persian than war. Yet of our own free will we will never yield, and so have we shown all honesty in our dealings. But you who then so greatly dreaded lest we should make a covenant with the barbarian, when ye learnt that our mind was firmly set not to betray you, and now that your wall across the Isthmus is nearly finished, care nothing for the Athenians. You swore to march with us to meet the Persian in Boiotia; you have broken your word and suffered him to enter Attica. The Athenians are angry with you, for your deeds have been unseemly; and they charge you to send back an army with us in all haste to receive the barbarian in Attica, where the Thriasian plain is the fittest spot to fight in, now that we have failed to meet him in Boiotia.'

8 To these words the ephors delayed to answer from day to day, until ten days had passed. Meanwhile all the Peloponnesians had been working zealously on the Isthmian wall; nor can I say why on the coming of Alexander they were so eager that the Athenians should not join the Medes but now cared nothing for it, except that they had now built their wall and fancied that they
9 needed them no more. At last they gave their answer, and set out on this wise. On the day before the last hearing, Chileos of Tegea, a man of great weight in Lacedæmon, heard from the

ephors what the Athenians had said to them, and he answered, 'Well, ye ephors, it is just thus. If the Athenians leave us and fight with the barbarian, the Persians have many ways of getting into the Peloponnesos in spite of your strong Isthmian wall. Listen to them, then, before they resolve on doing what may bring mischief to all Hellas.'

ix.

This counsel they immediately weighed well, 10 and, without saying anything to the messengers, sent out five thousand Spartans while it was yet night, with seven helots to each man, under Pausanias, whose father Kleombrotos had died soon after he led away from the Isthmus the army which had been building the wall. So Pausanias was sent in the place of his cousin Pleistarchos, the son of Leonidas, who was yet a child.

In the morning the messengers went to the 11 ephors, intending to depart instantly each to his own people, and said to them, 'Stay on, Lacedæmonians, keep feast and sport, after betraying your friends. The Athenians, whom ye have injured, will make their peace with the Persian as best they can; and when they have done so, they must march wherever the barbarian may lead them. And then ye will see what the issue must be to you.' Then the ephors answered and sware to them that the army was already gone, and must, as they believed, be now in the sacred

ix. ground of Orestes, on their way to meet the strangers. And the Athenians asked them what they meant, for they did not know that they spoke of the Persians under this name; and, marvelling greatly when they learnt the truth, they set out as quickly as they could, with five thousand chosen men of the Lacedæmonian Perioikoi.

12 When the Argives learnt that Pausanias with his men had left Sparta, they sent the best runner whom they could find to Attica, because they had promised Mardonios to hinder the Spartans from going out at all. And the runner came to Mardonios and said, 'The Argives have sent me to tell thee that all the young men have set out from Lacedæmon, and that the Argives were not able to stop them; wherefore be wise in thy counsels.' And so having spoken, he went home

13 again; but Mardonios, on hearing this, was in no way eager to remain in Attica. Up to this time he had waited to see what the Athenians would do, without hurting or wasting their land, in the hope that they would yield. But now he burnt Athens, and threw down and utterly destroyed every house and temple that had been left standing, and so departed from Attica before Pausanias and his men could reach the Isthmus. And he went away because Attica was not a good land for horsemen to fight in, and, if he should be beaten in the battle, he could only retreat through

narrow passes which a few men might hold ix.
 against him. But while he was yet on the road 14
 to Thebes, there came to him another message
 that a vanguard of one thousand Lacedæmonians
 had reached Megara. Upon this he led his army
 to that city, in the hope of taking these before
 the rest came up; and his horsemen overran the
 Megarian land. This was the furthestmost point
 of Europe which the host of the Persians reached;
 for, on learning by another message that the 15
 Greeks were gathered at the Isthmus, they went
 back through Dekeleia, guided by the men
 whom the chiefs of the Boiotians sent to lead
 him, by Sphendaleai, Tanagra, and Skôlos, into
 the country of the Thebans. There, although they
 were on his side, he yet ravaged their lands, not
 at all because he hated them, but because he
 could not help it, since he must have some strong
 place for his army to fall back upon if the war
 should not go according to his hopes. And he
 stretched out his army from Erythrai to Hysiai,
 and onwards to the Plataian land, by the banks of
 the river Asopos. However, he did not build the
 wall across all this space, but only for a distance
 of about ten furlongs on each front.

While the barbarians were labouring on this
 work, Attaginos, the son of Phrynôn, a Theban,
 called Mardonios, with fifty of the chief men
 among the Persians, to a great banquet which he

ix. 16 had made ready in Thebes. The rest of this tale I heard from Thersandros, a great man among the Orchomenians, who told me that he had been invited to this feast with fifty men of the Thebans, and that they lay down to meat not separately, but one Persian and one Theban together on each couch. When the feast was ended, as they were drinking wine, the Persian who lay on the couch with him asked him in the Greek language who he was; and when he answered that he was a man of Orchomenos, the Persian said, 'Thou hast sat at the same table and shared the same cup with me, and I wish to leave thee a memorial of my foresight, that thou mayest be able by wise counsel to provide also for thyself. Thou seest the Persians who are with us at this banquet, and the army which we left encamped on the river's bank. Yet a little while, and of all these but a very few shall remain alive.' As the Persian said this, he wept bitterly; and Thersandros marvelled at him and answered, 'Is it not right that Mar-donios should hear this, and the Persians who are of weight with him?' But the other replied, 'O friend, that which Heaven is bringing to pass it is impossible for man to turn aside; for none will believe though one spake ever so truly. All this many of us Persians know well, but yet we follow, bound by a strong necessity; and of all the pains

which men may suffer, the most hateful and 1x
wretched is this, to see the evils that are coming
and yet be unable to overcome them.' This story
I heard from Thersandros himself, who also added
that he had told the tale to many others, before
the battle was fought in Plataiai.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GATHERING AT PLATAIAI.—MARDONIOS ATONES FOR THE DEATH OF LEONIDAS.—THE STORMING OF THE PERSIAN CAMP.—THE FLIGHT AND TRICK OF ARTABAZOS.

εἰς οἶωνός ἕριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρὸς.

IL. xii. 243.

Herodotus
IX. 17.

WHILE Mardonios was encamped in Boiotia, all the Greeks who took the side of the Medes sent men to help him, and with him all marched against Athens except the Phokians. These took the king's side not of their free will but only of necessity, and a thousand of their hoplites joined Mardonios a few days after he reached Thebes, under Harmokydes, a man of great note among the citizens. As soon as they came, Mardonios placed them in the plain apart from all others; and immediately all the horsemen of the Persians rode up to them, and a rumour went through all the camp of the Greeks that the Phokians were to be shot down with arrows. The same rumour spread through the Phokians,

and Harmokydes, their leader, said, 'It is clear, O Phokians, that the enemy are about to slay us, because, as I suppose, we have been slandered by the Thessalians. Be strong, then, and of good courage, every one of you, for better is it to die fighting bravely for our lives than to be butchered quietly like dogs; but let the barbarians at least learn this, that they are attacking Greeks.' So 18 when the horsemen had made a circle round them, they rode up fiercely and stretched their bows as if they were going to shoot, and one or two shot their arrows. And the Phokians faced them, being drawn up in one close mass, and the horsemen wheeled round and drew off; nor is it certain whether they went to slay the Phokians at the request of the Thessalians, and then fell back on seeing that they were ready to defend themselves, or whether they did so merely to try their courage. But as soon as the horsemen were gone, Mardonios sent a herald to them, saying, 'Be of good cheer, men of Phokis; ye have shown yourselves to be brave, and not such as I had been told ye were. And now fight ye zealously for the king, for, whatever benefits ye may do to us, ye shall have more from him and from me.'

In the meanwhile the Lacedæmonians reached 19 the Isthmus and encamped there; and when the rest of the Peloponnesians who inclined to the better side heard this, or saw that the

- ix. Lacedæmonians had set out, they did not choose to be left behind : all therefore marched in one body from the Isthmus, when the sacrifices were said to be fair, and came to Eleusis, where they were joined by the Athenians who had crossed over from Salamis. Thence, when they had learnt again from the victims that the gods were kind, they went on to Erythrai in the Boiotian land ; and, hearing that the barbarians were encamped on the banks of the Asopos, they drew themselves out in array on the slopes of Mount Kithairon.
- 20 And when they would not come down into the plain, Mardonios sent all his horsemen against them, under Masistios, a great man amongst the Persians, who rode upon a Nisaian horse with a golden bit and brave trappings. So the horsemen rode up by their ranks to the Greeks, doing them much hurt by their arrows, and called them
- 21 women. It chanced that the Megarians were placed in that spot which was most open to attack, and where the horsemen could approach most easily. Thus they were hard pressed and sent a messenger to the generals of the Greeks, who came to them and said, ‘ The men of Megara cannot by themselves receive the onset of the Persians and keep the ground where they were placed at the first ; yet they hold out bravely and cheerfully, though they are sorely pressed : but if ye send not others to relieve us, we must leave

our ranks.' But when Pausanias asked who were willing of their own accord to go to this spot and take the place of the Megarians, none would go until the Athenians undertook to do so ; and there went the three hundred chosen men, of whom Olympiodôros, the son of Lampôn, was the captain. These, with the archers, placed themselves in front ²² of the Greeks at Erythrai ; and, at last, the horse of Masistios received an arrow in its side, and, rearing itself upright in its pain, shook Masistios from its back. Then the Athenians took his horse and killed Masistios as he strove to defend himself ; but they did so with difficulty, for he wore a corslet of scale armour under a purple tunic. Thus they tried in vain to pierce the corslet, until at last some one, finding out the reason, wounded him in the eye ; and so he died. All this was done without the knowledge of his horsemen, for they did not see him fall or learn what had happened while their retreat was going on ; but on halting they found out their loss, and with a great cry turned back to recover his body. And the Athenians, seeing them coming up not by ²³ companies but in a single mass, called the rest of the army to help them ; and while they were coming up, a sharp fight went on for the body of Masistios. As long as the three hundred stood alone, they were beaten and compelled to give up the body ; but when the others came up, the

- ix. Persians were again driven back, and, losing the body, had many more of their number slain. So they fell back about two furlongs, and taking counsel rode off to Mardonios because they had lost²⁴ their leader. Then there was a great mourning throughout the army of the Persians, for all lamented for Masistios (and Mardonios mourned most of all), shaving themselves and their horses and their beasts of burden. And there was a great cry through all the host, and the sound of it went through all Boiotia, as for the death of one who, next to Mardonios, was of most note among the Persians and with the King.¹

¹ Mr. Rawlinson rightly cites this passage among the instances of vivid pictorial description to be found throughout the pages of Herodotus: at the same time he remarks (Herodotus, vol. i. p. 145) that, 'in common with the ancients generally, the historian for the most part neglects natural scenery.' Volumes have been written in our own day on this supposed contrast between ancient and modern writers; and the greater merit of the latter in that art which has received the name of 'word-painting' has been vehemently maintained by Mr. Ruskin, himself perhaps the most prominent of all painters in words. (Modern Painters, &c. &c.) Yet after all it may be fairly doubted whether this art will have any great permanence, and still more whether it has at all answered the purpose for which it was called into being. Its aim is to give to those who have not seen a natural landscape or a painted representation of it, a real idea of that scene or that picture. It is by some maintained already, and the opinion will rapidly gain ground, that the most elaborate descriptions give nothing more than general impressions. The most minute account of such pictures

But the Greeks, having withstood the onset of the horsemen and driven them off, became much more bold and cheerful, and putting the dead body on a car, they drew it along their ranks; and so wonderful was it for its stature and its beauty, that the men left their places and came forward to look upon Masistios. After this they determined to go down to Plataiai, which seemed to them a much better place to encamp in than Erythrai and to have more water. To this place, then, and to the fountain of Gargaphia, they resolved to go, and there place themselves in order. So they took up their arms and went along the lower slopes of Kithairon to Hysiai in the Plataian land, and there drew themselves up by their nations near the fountain

as the 'Old Temeraire,' the 'Slave Ship,' the 'Campagna of Rome,' may lead us to create our own pictures to answer that description; but they will no more put us in the position of others who have seen those pictures, than the passing touches of the ancient poet will enable us altogether to realise the beauties of the ivy-coloured Kolonos. Yet probably the partial sketch of Sophokles will leave on the reader's mind an impression not less vivid than that which he may receive from any descriptions of the most elaborate word-painting. The enthusiasm with which Herodotus speaks of the beautiful climate of Ionia, and the description which he gives of the surprise of the Phokians at Thermopylai, shows that he felt these outward beauties not less than Sophokles himself. In both the absence of more elaborate description may be caused as much by a consciousness of its uselessness, as by a want of the powers of appreciation.

IX. of Gargaphia and the sacred ground of the hero Androkrates, along some gently swelling mounds and level land.

26 In drawing up this order there arose a great strife of words between the men of Tegea and the Athenians, both claiming to have that wing of the army which the Lacedæmonians might not choose for themselves, and bringing up things done lately and long ago in support of their claim. And the men of Tegea said, 'In every march of the Peloponnesians both in old time and in later days, the allies have ever given us this place, from the time that the children of Herakles sought, after the death of Eurystheus, to return into the Peloponnesos. Then, with the Achaians and the Ionians who were then in Peloponnesos, we went out to meet them; and the tale is that Hyllos would not suffer the armies to come together in battle, but asked for the bravest man among the Peloponnesians to come forth and fight with him in place of all. So they swore an oath that if Hyllos should conquer the champion of the Peloponnesians, the children of Herakles should return to their fathers' land, but if he should be beaten, then they should go away and not seek a return to the Peloponnesos for a hundred years. Then of his own will came forth Echemos, the son of Aëropos our leader and king, and fought with Hyllos and slew him. For this deed the Pelopon-

nesians gave us other great honours, which we have still—and this also, that we should lead the other wing whenever they went to war. We do not stand in your way, then, men of Lacedæmon; take whichever wing ye may prefer, but the other we claim to lead as in the former days. Nay, apart from this deed of Echemos, we deserve this post much more than the Athenians; for many a sturdy struggle have we had with you, O men of Lacedæmon, and many also with others; but the Athenians have not deeds such as ours to boast of, either in our own time or in the ages that are past.’ To this the Athenians answered, 27 ‘We supposed that we were gathered here to fight with the barbarian and not to quarrel between ourselves with words. But since the men of Tegea think fit to balance their good deeds in every generation against ours, we must also show why, so long as we behave well, we deserve to come before Arkadians. These children of Herakles, whose leader they say that they slew at the Isthmus, we alone welcomed when they were driven from one nation of the Greeks to another, as they fled from the men of Mykênai; and we also put down the pride of Eurystheus, when with them we beat in a battle the people who then had the Peloponnesos. Yet again, when the men of Argos went against Thebes with Polyneikes and lay unburied on the ground, we marched against

ix. the children of Kadmos, and recovering their bodies buried them in Eleusis of our own land. And we also did bravely against the daughters of the Amazons when long ago they came into Attica from the river Thermôdon; and in the labours at Troy we came behind none. But it is useless to go back to these things. They who behaved well then may be worthless now; they who were cowards long ago may now be brave. Enough then of the former days. For even if we had done no other good deed (and we have done many, perhaps beyond all the Greeks), yet, from what we did at Marathon, we deserve surely not this honour only, but others also, for daring to meet the Persians alone and conquering by one victory six-and-forty nations. But at such a time as this it is not seemly to be quarrelling for a place, and so we are ready, men of Lacedæmon, to stand where ye may think fit to place us; and wherever we are we shall strive to do our duty.'

28 Then the Lacedæmonians cried out as one man that the Athenians deserved to lead the other wing more than any Arkadians; and so the men of Tegea were worsted in their claim.

After this they were drawn out for battle thus,—the new-comers along with those who had been there from the first. On the right wing were ten thousand Lacedæmonians; but five thousand of these were Spartans, who were

guarded by five-and-thirty thousand helots, seven to each man. Next to themselves they placed the men of Tegea, fifteen hundred heavy-armed men, as a reward for their courage and greatness in time past. After these came fifteen hundred men of Corinth, close to whom stood the three hundred Potidaians who had come from Pallênê. Then came six hundred Arkadians of Orchomenos, and three thousand men of Sikyôn; then eight hundred Epidaurians, and one thousand men of Troizen, next to whom were two hundred from Lepreon, with four hundred from Mykênai and Tiryns, and one thousand men from Phlious. Next to these stood three hundred from Hermionê, then six hundred from Eretria and Styria, then four hundred Chalkidians and five hundred men of Ambrakia. Beyond these were placed eight hundred from Leukas and Anaktorion, and then two hundred Palians from Kephallenia. Next to these were drawn out five hundred Aiginetans, and then three thousand men of Megara, beyond whom were six hundred Plataians; and beyond all, and first on the left wing, stood the Athenians, eight thousand men, with Aristeides, the son of Lysimachos, for their leader.

All these, except the seven who served round ²⁹ every Spartan, were hoplites, and numbered in all thirty-eight thousand seven hundred men. And the light-armed were the five-and-thirty thousand

- IX. helots belonging to the Spartans, and three for each of the other Lacedæmonians and Greeks, making together thirty-four thousand five hundred men ; so that all the light-armed men in the army numbered seven myriads lacking five hundred.
- 30 And hoplites and light-armed together made up eleven myriads lacking eighteen hundred ; but these were filled up by the Thespians, who remained after Thermopylai, and who came without heavy arms. So all these were encamped on the banks of the river Asôpos.
- 31 When the barbarians with Mardonios had ended their mourning for Masistios, they also hastened to the Asôpos, on hearing that the Greeks were assembled in Plataiai. There, facing the Lacedæmonians, Mardonios placed the Persians, who being many more in number fronted also the men of Tegea ; but he picked out the strongest to stand opposite the Lacedæmonians, and the weakest he placed against the Tegeatans. This he did by the counsel and warning of the Thebans. Next to the Persians came the Medes, facing the Corinthians and Potidaians with the men of Orchomenos and Sikyon ; after these, the Baktrians in front of the Epidaurians, Troizenians, and Lepreatans, and also of the men of Tiryns, Mykênai, and Phlious. Next to these stood the Indians, who faced the men of Hermionê and Eretria, the Styrians and Chalkidians. Beyond these came the Sakai

in front of the Ambrakiots and Ieukadians, the IX.
 Paleans and Aiginetans. And opposite to the Athenians, Plataians, and Megarians, he drew up the Boiotians and Lokrians, Melians and Thessalians, with the thousand men of Phokis (for not all the Phokians had taken the king's side, but some who had fled to the heights of Parnassos aided the Greeks by coming down from the mountain and plundering the army of Mardonios and the Greeks who were with him). And facing the Athenians were also drawn up the men of Macedonia and the countries which lie near to Thessaly.

These were the greatest nations in the army of 32
 Mardonios, and had the highest name. But with these were mixed up men of other nations, Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Paionians, and the rest; and of the Æthiopians and Egyptians were those who carry daggers and are called Hermotybians and Kalasirians,—the only Egyptians who fight. These Mardonios took out of the ships while he was at Phalêron, for they had not been reckoned amongst the footmen of Xerxes. So then the barbarians were, as has been said before, thirty myriads; but the number of Greeks who were with them is not known, for they were never counted, but we may suppose that they made up five myriads more.

When all were drawn out by their nations and 33
 in their companies, then on the second day both

- ix. armies offered sacrifice. The seer of the Greeks was Tisamenos, the son of Antiochos, whom, being an Eleian of the Iamid tribe, the Lacedæmonians had adopted into their own people. For when he had gone once on a time to Delphi, the priestess said that he should be five times conqueror in the greatest struggles; so he thought that she meant the great games, and, giving his mind to these, very nearly won the game of five contests against Hieronymos of Andros. And when the Lacedæmonians found from this that the priestess must have meant the strife not of games but of war, they sought with a great sum to obtain him for a leader in war together with their kings the children of Herakles. But he, seeing their eagerness, raised his price, and said that he would only lead them if they gave him all the rights of a citizen. But the Spartans would not hear of it, and at first cared nothing for the words of the priestess. But when the great peril of the Persian war hung over them, they agreed to do as he had asked. Then Tisamenos answered that he would not be content now, unless they gave to his brother Hêgias also all that he had demanded for himself.
- 34 And they gave way to him in all, so grievously did they need him; and so Tisamenos became their soothsayer, and helped them to win five great battles, of which this one in Plataiai was the
- 35 first. And when he offered sacrifice, he told them

that the signs were good if they stood in their own defence, but not if they crossed the river and began the battle. ix.

Mardonios also was eager to begin the fight; ³⁷ but neither to him were the omens good if he advanced against the enemy. For he also had a Greek soothsayer, Hegesistratos, an Eleian of the tribe of the Telliadai, whom the Spartans once bound and were going to slay, because they thought that he had done them great wrong. So he knew that he was in peril of his life, and resolved to do a daring and marvellous deed to escape not only death but horrible tortures before death. Somehow or other he got a knife and cut off the front part of his foot so as to let him draw the rest out from the stock to which it was fastened. So he fled from his dungeon by a hole which he had made in the wall, and, journeying by night and skulking in the woods by day, reached Tegea on the third night, although he had been sought by all the Lacedæmonians, who had marvelled to see the foot lying on the ground and the man himself gone. At this time the men of Tegea were not friendly to the Spartans: so when the wound was healed, Hegesistratos made himself a wooden foot, and showed himself openly as an enemy to the Lacedæmonians. However, he did not prosper in this enmity to the end; for they caught him at last as he was prophesying in

- ix. 38. Zakynthos, and put him to death. But this was long after the fight at Plataiai, where he offered sacrifice for Mardonios not only because he hated the Lacedæmonians, but because he had been hired at a great price. And when the signs would not allow him or the Greeks who were with him to fight, a Theban named Timagenidas counselled Mardonios to guard the passes of Mount Kithairon, telling him that more men were daily pouring in to help the Greeks, and that by so doing he
39 would catch many of them. Eight days had passed away since the armies began to face each other, when this counsel was given to Mardonios. And, as soon as it was night, Mardonios sent his horsemen into the passes of Kithairon which lead towards Plataiai, and which the Boiotians call the Three Heads, but the Athenians name the Oak Heads. Nor did he send them in vain; for they caught five hundred beasts carrying corn from Peloponnesos for the army, together with the men who followed them. On these the Persians fell fiercely, and slew all, sparing neither man nor beast; and when they had taken their fill of slaughter, they drove away all that remained to Mardonios and his army.
- 40 After this, yet two days more passed, while neither side was willing to commence the battle. The barbarians came up indeed to the banks of the Asôpos, but neither Greeks nor Persians at-

tempted to cross the river. Still the horsemen of Mardonios troubled the Greeks, for the Thebans, who were fierce on the king's side, urged them on vehemently. So for ten days nothing more happened; but on the eleventh Mardonios, vexed that the Greeks were daily growing stronger in number, took counsel with Artabazos, the son of Pharnakes, who thought that all the host ought at once to go to the wall of the Thebans, where much corn was stored up for the men, with food also for all the cattle, and there wait quietly. 'We have much gold,' he said, 'both coined and uncoined, and also much silver both in money and in drinking vessels. Spare none of these, but send them about to the Greeks, and chiefly to those who are at the head in each city, and they will soon give up their freedom without facing the dangers of a battle.' And so likewise thought the Thebans. But Mardonios was headstrong and would not listen, for he thought that his army was altogether stronger than the army of the Greeks. 'Let us fight,' he answered, 'before our enemies grow more in number. As to the omens of Hegesistratos, let them alone, and seek not to force them; but let us go to meet the enemy as we should do in our own land.'

None dared to speak against these words of Mardonios, for he it was and not Artabazos whom the king had left to be the general of his army.

- ix. So he sent for the leaders of the companies and the captains of the Greeks who were with him, and asked them if they knew of any oracle which said that the Persians should be destroyed in Hellas. But all were silent, some because they knew no such oracle, others because they were afraid to speak. Then said Mardonios, 'Since ye either know nothing or dare not tell out what ye know, I will tell you myself. There is an oracle which says that Persians, coming to Hellas, shall plunder the temple at Delphi, and then be utterly destroyed. But we are not going against this temple, nor shall we attempt to plunder it; and therefore we shall not for this cause be undone. Be glad, then, all ye who have good-will towards the Persians, for we shall now conquer the Greeks.' And so he bade them all make ready for the fight, for that he would begin the battle on the next morning as soon as the day should
44 break. So the council was ended, and the night came on, and the guards stood at their posts. And when all was quiet through the camp and the men were in a deep sleep, then, in the late hours of the night, Alexander, the son of Amyntas, the general and king of the Macedonians, rode up to the outposts of the Athenians and asked to speak with their leaders. So most of the watchmen waited there with him, while some went to say that there was a man come from

the army of the Medes who would tell them ix.
nothing but sought to come to speech of the
generals, of whom he spoke by name. Then the 45
leaders followed the guards to the outposts;
and when they came near, Alexander said to
them, 'Men of Athens, I charge you, tell not
these words of mine to any save Pausanias, lest
ye destroy me. I should never have spoken them
but because I greatly care for Hellas. I too am
a Greek by ancient descent, and I wish not to
see Hellas enslaved instead of free. Therefore do
I tell you that the omens are not fair to Mar-
donios and his army; otherwise he would have
fought with you long ago. Now, however, he is
resolved to take no further heed of omens and
victims, but to begin the battle as soon as the
day shall dawn, for, as I believe, he fears that
your numbers are daily becoming greater. Where-
fore be ye ready, and even if Mardonios puts off
the battle, still tarry on, for he has but little corn
left. And if the war end as ye would have it,
then remember to deliver me also, for in my zeal
for the Greeks I have run this great venture, be-
cause I wished to show you the purpose of Mar-
donios, that so he might not take you unawares.
I am Alexander the Macedonian.' So having
spoken, he rode back to the army and to his com-
pany; and the generals of the Athenians went to 46
the right wing and told Pausanias what they had

- ix. heard from Alexander. Then Pausanias was afraid and said, 'If we must fight as soon as the day dawns, then must ye Athenians face the Persians, while we stand in front of the Boiotians and other Greeks; and for this reason. Ye know the Medes and their way of fighting, for ye have done battle with them in Marathon. We have no knowledge of them, and are unskilled in their ways. But if the Spartans have never fought with the Medes, they have often fought with Boiotians and Thes-salians. Take up your arms, then, and come to our wing, while we change to the left.' Then the Athenians answered Pausanias and said, 'Long ago, when we saw that you faced the Persians, it came into our minds to counsel you to do what ye now wish to do, but we were afraid that our words might not please you. But as ye have thought of these things yourselves, we gladly agree and are ready to do as ye would have
47 us.' So both were pleased; and the day dawned as they were changing their ground. And the Boiotians, seeing what was going on, told it to Mardonios, who straightway made the Persians move to the other side so as again to face the Lacedæmonians. But when Pausanias saw by this that his purpose was found out, he led the Spartans back to the right wing, and Mardonios
48 placed the Persians again on his left. When all stood as they had been drawn up before, Mar-

donios sent a herald to the Spartans, who came to them and said, 'O Lacedæmonians, the people of this land tell us that ye are the bravest of all men, and marvel that ye never fly from war or leave your ranks, but, holding your ground, either slay your enemies or are slain yourselves. All this, then, is a lie; for before the battle begins, we see you leaving your post and changing ground, wishing the Athenians to commence the fight, while ye place yourselves in front of our slaves. These are not the deeds of brave men. Nay, we have been sadly deceived in you. We thought that for your great name ye would send a herald saying that ye would fight with the Persians by yourselves; and not only do ye not say this, but yield ground before us. Well, we have begun this converse, not you; and so we will ask yet more, what hinders us from fighting in equal numbers, you on behalf of the Greeks, because ye are held to be the bravest, and we Persians on behalf of the barbarians? If the others must fight, let them fight afterwards. But if there is no need of this, let us finish the strife; and whichever of the two shall conquer, let it be held that he conquers with his whole army.'

So the herald waited for an answer; but none ⁴⁹ was given, and presently he rode away and told Mardonios how he had fared. And Mardonios was exceedingly glad, and ordered his horsemen

IX. to march against the Greeks; and they did much hurt to their army by shooting their arrows and lances against them, while the Greeks could not reach them because they fought on horses. And the Persians destroyed and filled up the fountain of Gargaphia from which all the army of the Greeks drew their water. Near this fountain only the Lacedæmonians had been placed, while the rest of the Greeks were near the river Asôpos; but now that they were prevented by the horsemen and archers from approaching the river, they were
 50 compelled to resort to this fountain. Upon this the leaders of the Greeks came to Pausanias on the right wing, to take counsel on this matter and on many others, for not only had they no water, but there were other things more grievous still. Their corn had almost failed them, and their servants, whom they had sent to the Peloponnesos to bring more, were caught by the horsemen of the Persians
 51 and were unable to reach the camp. So the generals resolved that, if the Persians should again put off the battle, they would retreat to an island ten furlongs away from the fountain of Gargaphia, in front of the city of Plataiai. Here the stream which comes down in two courses from Kithairon runs again into one, and so makes this island, which is called Oëroê (as the people of the land say) from a daughter of the river Asôpos. Thither they purposed to go, that they might have plenty of

water and not be so vexed by the horsemen of the enemy. So they made ready to depart as soon as the second watch of the night should come, that the Persians might not see them setting out and send out horsemen to annoy them; and they purposed also, as soon as they had reached the island, to send half the army to Kithairon to bring away the servants, who had been sent to fetch food but were shut up in the mountain.

All that day, then, they were grievously pressed 52 by the horsemen of the Persians; but as the day ended, the enemy attacked them no more. And when the hour of the night came which had been agreed upon and they set out on their march, they forgot the place to which they had been commanded to go, but, in their wish to escape from the enemy, went straight to the city of Plataiai, and there gladly piled their arms before the temple of Hêrê. So when Pausanias saw them set- 53 ting out from the camp, he supposed that they were marching to the island of Oëroê, and gave command to the Lacedæmonians to take up their arms and follow those who were going before them. This command all the captains were ready to obey, except Amompharetos, the leader of the Lochos of Pitanê,¹ who said that he would never fly from the strangers and so bring shame upon Sparta. And he marvelled at what was going on, because

¹ See Appendix III.

- ix. he had not been present at the council. But Pausanias and Euryanax were greatly vexed that he did not obey; and still more were they grieved at the thought of leaving the band of Pitane behind, lest Amompharetos should be slain with all his men. So they kept all their men still, and tried to persuade him that he ought not so to do. While they thus urged on Amompharetos, the Athenians
54 also remained quiet in their ranks, suspecting that the Lacedæmonians had said one thing but meant another. But when the army began to move, they sent a horseman to see if the Spartans also were preparing to set out, and, if not, to ask Pausanias
55 what ought to be done. In the meanwhile Pausanias and Euryanax failed to gain over Amompharetos, and they were in loud quarrel together when the herald of the Athenians came. Presently Amompharetos took up a piece of rock with both his hands, and, placing it at the feet of Pausanias, said, 'Thus do I cast my vote against the counsel of flying from the strangers.' But Pausanias called him a brainstruck madman, and, turning to the herald who sought an answer to his message, bade him tell the Athenians how matters stood and ask them to take their stand near them.
56 So the herald departed, and the quarrel of the Spartans was not yet ended when the day broke; and then Pausanias, thinking (and, as the issue showed, truly) that Amompharetos would never

remain if all the rest were fairly gone, made the signal and led the others away through the billocks, followed by the men of Tegea. But the Athenians went another way, for the Lacedæmonians, fearing the horsemen of the enemy, kept close to the slopes of Kithairon, while the Athenians turned lower down into the plain. At first Amompharetos, ⁵⁷ thinking that they would not dare to leave him, stuck to his old place; but as the men with Pausanias went farther, and it seemed that they were really going away, he made his band take up their arms, and led them slowly to join the others who were waiting for him about ten furlongs away near the river Moloeis, where stands a temple of the Eleusinian Dêmêtêr. Here Pausanias had halted, that he might be able to go back and help Amompharetos if he should still refuse to move. But no sooner had he come up with his men than the barbarian horsemen again began to annoy them, for when they found the place empty where the Greeks had stood, they hastened on to overtake them. ix.

When Mardonios heard that they were gone, ⁵⁸ he called Thorax of Larissa and his two brothers, and said to them, ‘Children of Aleuas, what say ye, now that ye see all this? You, who dwell near them, used to tell me that the Lacedæmonians never fled from battle, but were the bravest of men in war. Yet first you saw them trying to

- ix. shift their place, and now, during the night that is past, we find that they have fairly fled. In very truth have they shown themselves to be worthless even among worthless Greeks, on the day in which they are doomed to do battle with those who in very deed are the bravest of mankind. You indeed, who know nothing of Persians, I can pardon for praising the Lacedæmonians, for whom ye have some fellow-feeling; but I am only the more astonished that Artabazos should have feared them, and given to me the cowardly counsel that we ought to march away and shut ourselves up in Thebes. Of a truth the king shall hear of all this from me; but there will be time enough to speak of this hereafter. Now we must hunt out these Greeks and punish them for all the evils
- 59 that they have done to the Persians.' So having spoken, he led his men across the Asôpos, and then made them run in the track of the Greeks, who, as he thought, were flying. Thus he hastened to catch the Lacedæmonians and the men of Tegea, for he could not see the Athenians, who had gone down into the plain under the hillocks. And when the other barbarians saw that the Persians were gone in chase of the Greeks, they all arose, and, following as quickly as they could in no ranks or order, hurried on with cries and screams as if they were going to tear the Greeks to pieces.

When the horsemen began to press him, Pau-ix. 60
 sanias sent a messenger to the Athenians who said
 to them, ‘Men of Athens, we, the Lacedæmonians,
 have together with you been betrayed by our
 allies, who this night have fled just as the great
 struggle has come which is to decide whether Hel-
 las shall be enslaved or free. We must help one
 another, then, as best we may. If the horsemen
 had come against you, then should we and the
 men of Tegea who have not betrayed their country
 have been bound to help you; but now they have
 come upon us, and it is only fair that ye should
 hasten to those who are in distress. But if ye
 cannot yourselves come to our aid, send some
 archers, and we will thank you for the help, as
 we believe that ye will grant us this kindness
 by reason of the zeal which ye have shown
 throughout the war.’ On learning this, the 61
 Athenians made all haste to go and help them
 to the best of their power; but as they were set-
 ting out, the Greeks who were on the king’s side
 attacked them and hindered them from going.
 And so the Lacedæmonians, who were fifty thou-
 sand, and the men of Tegea (who were never
 separated from them), three thousand, being now
 left all alone, offered sacrifice, as being about to do
 battle with Mardonios and his army. But the signs
 were not good; and many of them were slain,
 and many more wounded. For the Persians placed

ix. their shields together and shot out their arrows without sparing them, so that the Spartans were greatly distressed; and Pausanias, looking away to the temple of Hêrê in Plataiai, called upon the name of the goddess, and prayed her not to let them be disappointed of their hope.

62 While he yet prayed thus, the men of Tegea rose up first, and went against the barbarians; and immediately after the prayer of Pausanias there came good signs to the Lacedæmonians, who also rose up and hastened to meet the Persians, as they stood in front and shot at them with their bows. First, then, they fought against the fence of shields; and when this had fallen, there was a sharp fight for a long time, close to the temple of Dêmêtêr, until they pressed close and pushed one another, for the barbarians seized their spears and broke them off. In spirit, then, and strength of body the Persians were not weaker than their enemies, but they were without heavy arms, and had not the same skill and knowledge of war with the Greeks; and rushing forward singly or in small numbers, or mingled together in a wild strife, they fell into the hands
63 of the Spartans and were slain. But most of all they pressed the enemy where Mardonios himself fought on the back of a white horse with the thousand chosen Persians round him. And as long as Mardonios remained alive, they stood

firm and slew many of the Lacedæmonians : but ix.
presently Mardonios was slain and the chosen
men that were with him fell, and then all the
others yielded and fled before the Lacedæmo-
nians ; for, having to fight with heavy-armed men,
they were most of all hurt by their dress, which
was not strong enough to defend their body.

Thus Mardonios paid the recompense for the 64
murder of Leonidas, as the priestess had spoken
to the Spartans ; and so Pausanias the son of
Kleombrotos gained the most glorious of all vic-
tories. The man who slew Mardonios was called
Aeimnêstos, a man of great note in Sparta, who
afterwards, when there was a war with the Messe-
nians, was slain by them with his three hundred
chosen men in Stenyklaros.

When the Persians were turned to flight by the 65
Lacedæmonians, they fled in disorder to their own
camp and to the wooden fence which they had
made in the Theban ground. And a marvellous
thing it is that, although they fought by the grove
of Dêmêtêr, not one of the Persians entered her
sacred portion or died within it, but the most of
them fell in the common ground around the
temple ; and I believe (if it be right to think at
all on matters such as this) that the goddess her-
self would not receive them because they had burnt
her temple at Eleusis.

Now Artabazos the son of Pharnakes had been 66

IX. displeased at the first because the king left Mardonios to rule the army, and before the battle he sought in vain to dissuade him from fighting. And so, being vexed at what Mardonios was doing, he took his men (and they were not less than four myriads) as soon as the fight began, charging them to follow him wherever he might lead them ; and with this command he led them, as he said, to the battle. But as he went in front he saw that the Persians were already in flight, and so he wheeled his men round and fled, not to the wooden fence or into the walls of Thebes, but to the Phokian land, because he wished to reach the Hellespont as quickly as he could.

67 Of the Greeks who had taken the king's side, the Boiotians fought for a long time with the Athenians ; and the Thebans did battle obstinately and fiercely, so that three hundred of their first and bravest men were there slain. But when they also were routed, they fled to Thebes, but not by the way that the Persians had taken. Of the other Greeks who were in the barbarian army not one
68 fought bravely, but all fled away together. And so it becomes clear that all the welfare of the barbarians depended upon the Persians, since even these ran away without fighting, because they saw Persians in flight. All fled, then, except the Boiotian and other horsemen, who kept close to their enemies and hindered them from falling on their

friends; and the Greeks followed in their victory, ⁶⁹ IX. chasing and slaying the men of Xerxes. In the midst of this panic, a message was brought to the other Greeks (who, being drawn up round the temple of Hêrê, had taken no share in the fight), that the battle was fought and the men of Pausanias were conquerors. On hearing this, without falling into any order, the Corinthians hurried by the hillocks and the lower mountain slopes on the road which goes to the temple of Dêmêtêr, while the men of Megara and Phlious kept the smoothest way through the plain. As these approached the enemy, the Theban horsemen saw them coming up in disorder and, attacking them, struck down six hundred, while they drove back the rest and chased them to Kithairon. But the ⁷⁰ Persians and the rest of their host who fled to the wooden fence mounted the towers before the Lacedæmonians could come up, and secured the walls as well as they could, so that, when they came, there was a fiercer fight against the wall, which they were unable to take because they knew nothing of this way of fighting. And even when the Athenians came up, the fight was fierce and long. At last, by their courage and their obstinacy, the Athenians clambered up and made a breach through which the Greeks poured in. First entered the men of Tegea, who tore down the tent of Mardonios and plundered it, taking

ix. among other things the manger of his horse, which was made of brass and very beautiful. This manger the men of Tegea dedicated at the temple of the Alean Athênê; but whatever else they took they brought into a common store for the Greeks. But the barbarians no longer stood their ground in firm masses when the wall fell, and showed no more stoutness of heart, but ran about in frantic terror, being many myriads shut up in a scanty place. So the Greeks slew on, until of the thirty myriads (except the four which Artabazos had led away) not three thousand remained alive. In this battle there fell of the Spartans ninety-one men, of the Tegeatans sixteen, and of the Athenians fifty-two.

71 Among the barbarians, the bravest of the footmen were the Persians, and of the horsemen the Sakai; and of all the men none, it is said, was so brave as Mardonios. Of the Greeks, the men of Tegea and Athens did well, but the Lacedæmonians did better; yet it is not easy to show how (for all conquered the men who were placed in front of them), except that they had to face the strongest of the enemy and conquered them. But by far the bravest among them was that Aristodemos who was disgraced for being the only one of the three hundred who returned home from Thermopylai; and next to him came Poseidonios, and Philokyon, and Amompharetos.

Yet, when they afterwards sought to fix who was the best, the Spartans who were present judged that Aristodemos had shown his daring by leaving his ranks and fighting with mad fury, because he wished to fling away his life; but that Poseidonios did bravely although he did not wish to die, and was thus far the better man. This, however, was spoken from grudge and jealousy; and so the others whom I have named were honoured because they fell in this battle; but Aristodemos lost his glory for seeking, as they said, to die. ix.

These were the men who won the greatest 72 name in Plataiai; for Kallikrates, the most beautiful not only of the Lacedæmonians but of all the Greeks, died away from the battle. For, as Pausanias was offering sacrifice, he was wounded in the side by an arrow while he was sitting down. So he was carried away, while the rest fought; and, as the pains of death pressed him hard, he said to Aeimnestos of Plataiai, that it grieved him not to die for Hellas, but because he had not been suffered to strike a blow in the battle and to do bravely for his country, as he wished to do.

Among the Athenians, the man who won the 73 greatest name was Sophanes of Dekeleia, of 74 whom the tale is told that he carried an iron anchor fastened to his breast-plate by a brazen

ix. chain, and with this, whenever he came near any of the enemy, he threw them out of their ranks, while he stood fast in his own; and when they fled, he took up his anchor and chased them. But another story is, that he bore the sign of an anchor on his shield which flashed everywhere and was never still, but not one made of steel hanging from his corslet.

76 And when the barbarians had been smitten by the Greeks in Plataiai, there came a woman on a chariot with her handmaids, all arrayed in their fairest raiment; and, dismounting from it, she went towards the Lacedæmonians who were still slaying their enemies. When she saw that Pausanias was ordering everything, she drew near to him (for she knew his name before, and whence he came) and took him by the knees, saying, 'O King of Sparta, save me, I beseech thee, from slavery. Thus far thou hast helped me, by slaying these barbarians, who had no care of gods or men. I am a woman of Kôs and a daughter of Hegetoridas; and the Persians took me from my home by force.' And Pausanias answered, 'Be of good courage, not only because thou comest as a suppliant, but because (if thy tale be true) thou art the daughter of a man who more than all others is my friend among those who dwell in the parts of which thou hast spoken.' Then he intrusted her to those of the ephors who

were present, and afterwards sent her to Aigina, ix.
whither she wished to go.

Immediately after this, the men of Mantinea 77
came up, and were greatly grieved when they found that they were too late, and confessed that they deserved to be punished. But, hearing that Artabazos with his men was flying to the Hellespont, they were setting out to chase them as far as Thessaly; but the Lacedæmonians would not suffer them so to do. So they went back to their own land, and then drove their leaders out of the country. And after them came the men of Elis, who also went home greatly grieved, and banished their leaders from the land.

While they were in the camp at Plataiai, there 78
went to Pausanias Lampôn, the son of Pytheas, a great man among the Aiginetans, with a horrible prayer. Drawing near to him in haste, he said, 'Son of Kleombrotos, thou hast this day done a work marvellous for its greatness and its glory, and Heaven hath permitted thee to deliver Hellas and to win a name beyond that of all the Greeks who are known to us. Finish then what yet remains for thee to do, that so thou mayest become yet more glorious and that the barbarians may dread to insult the Greeks hereafter. For when Leonidas died in Thermopylai, Mardonios and Xerxes cut off his head and hung his body on a cross. Requite it therefore now to Mardonios,

- ix. and thou shalt have praise not only from the
79 Spartans but from all the Greeks.' Then answered Pausanias and said, 'Aiginetan friend, I thank thee for thy good-will and forethought; yet thou hast missed the right judgment. For, having extolled my country and my deeds, thou hast brought them also to nothing by bidding me to insult a dead body and by saying that for such a deed I shall be the better spoken of. All this is fitter for barbarians than for Greeks, and we hate it even in them; and if such a thing be needed, then may I never please the men of Aigina, or any who may like such doings. It is enough for me to please the Spartans by right deeds and right words. Leonidas, whom thou urgest me to avenge, has, I tell thee, been mightily avenged already, and he, with all who fell in Thermopylai, has been glorified in the countless numbers who have been slain here. Dare not then to approach me any more with such words as these or to give me the like counsel, and be grateful to me that thou goest away scatheless.'

Then Pausanias commanded by a herald that none should touch the booty, but that the helots should gather everything into one common store. So they went through all the camp, and found tents adorned with gold and silver, and gilded couches, with drinking bowls and cups and goblets of solid gold; and on the waggons were sacks with

gold and silver vessels. From the dead that lay on the ground they stripped off bracelets and chains and gilded daggers, for of embroidered garments no one took any heed. Of all this the helots stole much and sold much to the Aiginetans, while they gave account of all that they could not hide; and hence began the great wealth of the men of Aigina, who bought gold from the helots, telling them that it was brass. ix.

So when all had been gathered together, they set apart the portions for the gods. With that which was given to the god at Delphi they dedicated the golden tripod which stands on the three-headed brazen serpent close to the altar; and from the portion of the Olympian god they set up a brazen statue of Zeus ten cubits in height; and from that which was given to the Isthmian god was made a brazen figure of Poseidon seven cubits high. All the rest they divided, to each man his share according to his deserving,—the women, the gold and the silver, with all other things and the beasts. But it is not said what special gifts were set apart for those who had fought most bravely at Plataiai; yet some, I suppose, were given. For Pausanias himself there was set apart a tenth of everything, women, horses, money, camels, and all other things in like manner. A tale is also told that Xerxes, when he fled from Hellas, left his furniture with Mardonios, and that Pausanias,

- IX. when he saw it all blazing with gold and silver and embroidered hangings, commanded the cooks and bakers to make ready for him a banquet, as they had been wont to do for Mardonios. When all was ready he saw couches and tables of gold and silver all fairly spread and a banquet splendidly set forth; and then, marvelling at this magnificence and glory, he charged his own servants, by way of mockery, to prepare a Lakonian feast. So the meal was made ready, but it looked not much like the other; and Pausanias laughed and, sending for the generals of the Greeks, pointed to the two banquets which were spread before them, saying, 'Men of Hellas, I have brought you together that ye may see the madness of the Mede who faring thus sumptuously came to rob us of
83 our sorry food.' Long after this many also of the Plataians used to find treasures of gold and silver and other things which had not been gathered by the helots.
- 84 The day after the battle the body of Mardonios disappeared; but none can tell for certain who took it. Many people of all sorts were said to have buried Mardonios, and I know that many received rich gifts from Artontes, the son of Mardonios, for the burial of his father; but the greater number seem to think that he was buried by a man of Ephesos.
- 85 After the sharing of the spoil, the Greeks buried

their dead according to their nations. The Lace-
dæmonians made three tombs, one for the chosen
Spartans, amongst whom were Poseidonios and
Amompharetos, Philokyon and Kallikrates; another
for the rest of the Spartans, and the third for the
helots. In like manner the men of Tegea and
Athens, Megara and Phlious, buried their dead,
each in a separate grave. Of all these the tombs
were full; the rest, it is said, were empty; but
those who were not present at the battle piled
them up through shame, for the sake of the
generations to come. Certainly there is among
them a tomb which is called the sepulchre of the
Aiginetans, which, it is said, Kleadas, a Plataian,
their friend, raised up at their desire ten years
after the battle.

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When they had ended the burial of the dead, 86
they took counsel and determined at once to
march against Thebes and demand the men who
had taken the side of the Persians, and chiefly
Timagenidas and Attaginos, who had been foremost
in the matter; and if the Thebans should refuse
to give them up, they resolved not to go away
until they had pulled down their city. So on the
eleventh day after the battle they went and laid
siege to Thebes, charging them to bring out the
men; and when they would not, they ravaged the
land and made an onset against their wall. And 87
so things went on till the twentieth day, when

ix. Timagenidas said to the Thebans, 'Men of Thebes, since the Greeks seem resolved not to raise the siege until either they have destroyed the city or ye surrender us, let not the Boiotian land suffer more evil for our sakes. And if they ask for us only that they may get money, then let us give it to them out of the common treasury; for in common did we take the part of the king, and it was not done by us alone. But if they really wish to seize us, then are we ready to go and defend ourselves before them.' On hearing this, the Thebans gladly and quickly sent a herald to Pausanias, saying that they would give up the
88 men; but when the covenant was made, Attaginos fled from the city, and Pausanias sent away his children unhurt when they were brought to him instead of their father, saying that the children could not be partakers of their father's sin. But the other men whom the Thebans gave up thought that they would be suffered to defend themselves and to win their freedom by money; and Pausanias, suspecting this, sent away all his allies as soon as he received them, and taking them to Corinth slew them there.

89 Meanwhile Artabazos was far away on his road from Plataiai; and when he reached Thessaly, the men of that country called him to a banquet and asked him of the welfare of the army, having heard nothing of what had happened at Plataiai.

But Artabazos, knowing that, if he were to tell them the truth, he should run a risk of destroying himself and all his army, made no answer to the Phokians, while to the Thessalians he said, 'I am hastening, men of Thessaly, as ye see, with all speed into Thrace, being sent on weighty business from the army with the men who are with me. But Mardonios is close at hand and all his army with him: receive him as your guest and treat him kindly, and ye shall never have cause to repent it.' And so having spoken, he led his army with all speed through Thessaly and Macedonia to the Thracian land, keeping the roads which were far away from the sea until he reached Byzantion, having left behind him many of his army who were cut to pieces by the Thracians on the march, or who died from hunger or worn out by toil. From Byzantion he crossed over in boats, and so got back into Asia.

IX.

CHAPTER X.

THE FIGHT AT MYKALÊ.—THE MARVEL OF THE HERALD'S STAFF.—THE LOVES OF KING XERXES AT SARDES AND AT SOUSA.—THE VENGEANCE OF PROTESILAOS.

*τοιαῦθ' ὁρῶντες τῶνδε τὰπιτίμια
μέμνησθ' Ἀθηνῶν Ἑλλάδος τε.*

ÆSCHYLUS.

Herodotus
IX. 90

ON the same day on which the battle was fought in Plataiai, the Persians were beaten also at Mykalê in the land of Ionia. For while the Greeks who came by sea with Leotychides the Lacedæmonian were in Delos, there came from Samos heralds who had been sent by the Samians without the knowledge of the Persians and of Theomestor whom the Persians had set up to be their tyrant. And when they were brought before the generals, one of them spake and said, 'O ye Greeks, we pray you, come and help us; for if the Ionians only see you, they will shake off the yoke of the Persians, and the barbarians will never withstand you. But even if they should do so, ye will never find such another prey again. Think of the

gods whom we worship in common, and deliver 1X.
from slavery men who are Greeks as ye are, and
chase away the barbarian. It is no hard task to
which we call you : their ships sail wretchedly and
are not fit to do battle with yours. And if ye think
that we are dealing craftily, we are ready to go
back with you in your ships and be pledges to you
for the truth of our words.'

So the Samian continued to beseech him vehe- 91
mently, until Leotychides, either wishing to know
by what name to call him, or by the ordering of
some god, asked the Samian what might be his
name ; and he said Hegesistratos, 'the man who
leads an army.' Then breaking in upon the
speech of the herald, Leotychides spake in haste,
'O Samian friend, I take up the omen of thy
name ; and thou canst return home when thou
hast given us surety that the Samians will in very
truth be faithful to us in war.'

Then the Samians gave the pledge and sware 92
the oath, after which they all sailed away except
Hegesistratos, whom Leotychides kept because of
the omen of his name. And the Greeks tarried that
day where they were. But on the following day,
when Déiphonos the soothsayer had told them
that the victims gave good signs, they set out from
Delos to sail to Samos ; and when they drew near 96
to Kalamoi, which is in Samos, they moored their
ships in front of the temple of Hêrê. But the

- x. Persians, when they learnt that the Greeks were coming, set out to sail to the mainland with all their ships except those of the Phœnicians, which they sent away altogether. This they did in their wish to avoid a fight by sea, in which they did not think themselves a match for their enemies; and so they sailed away, that they might be under the wing of the land army in Mykalê, which Xerxes had left to guard Ionia. And this host numbered six myriads of men, of whom Tigranes, a man beyond all the Persians for stature and beauty, was the general. Here the captains of the ships purposed to draw up their vessels and throw a hedge round them, as a safe place to which they might
- 97 fly for refuge. So when they came near the temple of the Potniai in Mykalê, and to Gauson and Skolopoeis, where there is a temple of the Eleusinian Dêmêtêr, they drew their ships upon the land, and cast round them a rampart of stones and logs of wood, cutting down the fruit trees, and then drove in stakes all round the rampart. Thus they made ready, counting all chances, whether they should win the day or be shut up within their rampart.
- 98 When the Greeks found that the barbarians were gone away to the mainland, they were vexed that they had thus escaped, and knew not whether they ought to return home or sail towards the Hellespont. At last they resolved to do neither

of these things, but to sail to the mainland, with ladders and whatever else might be needed for a sea-fight. And when they came near Mykalê and saw no one sailing out against them, but the ships drawn up within the wall, while the army of the Persians stood in battle-array along the beach, Leotychides approached the shore in his ship and called out to the Ionians, saying, 'O Ionians, listen to my words, as many of you as can hear me, for the Persians cannot understand what I say to you. When the battle begins, first remember your freedom, and next to this the watchword 'Hêbê!' and give this password to all who may not hear it.' These words followed the device of Themistokles at Artemision, for either they might win over the Ionians without the knowledge of the Persians, or, if these understood them, would make them jealous of the Ionians.

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After this, the Greeks went out from their ships and drew themselves up in battle-array upon the land. Then the Persians, seeing them preparing for the fight and knowing that they had spoken to the Ionians, took away the arms of the Samians, whose faith they doubted because they had ransomed the Athenian captives who had been brought in the Persian ships and sent them back to Athens, having given them food for their journey. And the passes which lead to the heights of Mykalê they intrusted to the men of Miletos, because, as they

99

ix. said, they knew the country well, but really because they wished to get them away from the camp. While they dealt thus with those of the Ionians who, as they thought, would betray them if they had the power, they put their shields together as a defence against their enemies.

100 So the Greeks made ready and then went forth to meet the barbarians. And as they marched, a rumour went throughout the whole army, and a herald's staff was seen lying upon the sea-shore: and the rumour was that even at that hour a battle was being fought in the Boiotian land and that the Greeks were conquerors in it. And sure indeed are the tokens of those things which are ordered by the gods, since, on the very day in which Mardonios fell with his army in Plataiai, there came a rumour to the Greeks in Mykalê which cheered their hearts and sent them forth more eagerly to the battle.

101 It so chanced also that at Mykalê as at Plataiai there was a temple of the Eleusinian Dêmêtêr near the battle-ground. And the rumour was true that the Greeks with Pausanias had won the fight, for the battle at Plataiai was fought early in the morning, and the fight took place at Mykalê when the sun was going down in the sky; and they assured themselves afterwards that both happened on the same day of the same month. Before this rumour came, they were afraid not so much

for themselves as for the Greeks in Boiotia lest they should be beaten by Mardonios, for then all Hellas would be in his power. But when the rumour came, they hastened with the greater speed to the conflict, and the barbarians also hurried to the fight, for the islands and the Hellespont lay before them as the prizes for that day's battle. ix.

So they came on ; and, for the Athenians and 102 those who were next to them, the road lay along the shore and on level land ; but for the other half of the army with the Lacedæmonians, along the bed of a torrent and over hilly ground. While these were going round, the men on the other wing had already begun the fight ; and as long as their fence of shields stood upright, the Persians had none the worse of the battle : but the Athenians with their neighbours desired greatly that the work might be done by them and not by the Lacedæmonians, and, cheering each other on to fight more vehemently, presently changed the face of the battle. Soon they dashed down the rampart of shields and burst in a mass upon the Persians, who stood their ground bravely for a long time but at last were driven back to the wall ; and the Athenians broke in with the men of Corinth, of Troizen, and of Sikyon. When the wall was taken, the barbarians stood no longer on their own defence, but all turned to fly except

- ix. the Persians, and these fought bravely in little knots against the Greeks as they streamed into the camp. Of the Persian leaders two escaped, and the other two, Tigranes, the general of the footmen, and Mardontes, were slain.
- 103 While the fight still went on, the Lacedæmonians came up with the rest and helped them to finish the battle. And many of the Greeks also fell, chiefly among the men of Sikyon, whose leader Perilaos was killed; and when the Samians in the Median camp, whose arms the barbarian had taken away, saw that the battle was doubtful, they did all that they could to help the Greeks; so that the other Ionians, seeing this, turned openly against the barbarians and fell upon them.
- 104 But the Persians fared worse at the hands of the Milesians. These they had sent to guard the passes, not only that they might not be able to do mischief in the camp, but that, if the battle went against them, they might have safe guides to lead them to the heights of Mykalê. Instead of this, they guided the Persians by roads which led them down to the enemy, until at last they turned round and slew them more fiercely than the other Greeks had done. And thus Ionia again shook off the yoke of the barbarian.
- 105 In this battle the Athenians won most glory; and among them the most honoured was Hermolykos, who fell afterwards in a war with the men

of Karystos. And when the Greeks had slain ix. 106 most of the Persians, whether in the battle or as they fled, they brought out the booty to the sea-shore ; and then, having burnt the ships and the wall, sailed away to Samos. There they took counsel for the safety of Ionia, and how they might place the Ionians in some part of Hellas which they could defend, while they left Ionia to the barbarians. For it seemed impossible that they could stay to guard Ionia for ever ; and if they did not do so, they had no hope that the Ionians would escape unhurt by the Persians. The Peloponnesians therefore thought that they ought to give to the Ionians the lands of those Greeks who had taken the side of the king. But the Athenians would not suffer Ionia to be given up to their enemies, or that the men of the Peloponnesos should take thought for places to which the Athenians had sent their people ; and as they stood out obstinately, the Peloponnesians yielded. So they joined to themselves by a covenant the men of Samos, Chios, and Lesbos, and all the other islanders who were with them, and caused them to give pledges and to swear by an oath that they would abide by what they had promised and never break away from it. And then they sailed away for the Hellespont, to destroy the bridges which they thought to find still fastened.

107 Those of the barbarians (and they were but few in number) who had fled to the heights of Mykalê escaped afterwards to Sardes; and while they were on the road, Masistes, the son of Darius, who had seen the disaster of the army, reviled Artaÿntes, the general, with bitter words, telling him that he was worse than a woman and that he deserved every torment for having brought this hurt on the house of the king. Now there is no reproach among the Persians more vile than to be called 'worse than a woman;' and Artaÿntes, after listening for a long time, at last drew his dagger to kill Masistes. But Xeïnagoras, a man of Halikarnassos, who stood behind Artaÿntes, seized him round the body, when he saw this, and dashed him upon the ground; and in the meanwhile the spearbearers gathered round Masistes. Thus did Xeïnagoras in order to win favour with the king for saving the life of his brother; and Xerxes afterwards gave him all Kilikia for a reward. Nothing further happened on the march, and in Sardes they found the king, who was tarrying there after his flight from Athens.

108 While he yet sojourned in Sardes, Xerxes sought in vain to win the love of the wife of his brother Masistes; and when he failed in this, he betrothed the daughter of Masistes to his own son Darius, and then departed to Sousa, when he brought his son's wife into the palace. Then Xerxes began

to love her instead of her mother; and in no long time Amêstris, the wife of Xerxes, saw the daughter of Masistes wearing a robe which she had made herself and given to the king; but instead of being wroth with her, she determined to destroy her mother. So she waited patiently till the king's birthday came; and at the feast she went up to Xerxes and asked him to give her the wife of Masistes. Then Xerxes strove long against Amêstris; but on that day the custom of the Persians is that the king should not say nay to the prayer of those who come before him. So he gave her, and sending for Masistes, he said, 'Thou art the son of Darius, and my brother; and thou art moreover a brave man. Give up then the wife whom thou hast now, for I like it not that thou shouldest have her, and I will give thee my daughter in her stead.' And Masistes marvelled and said, 'O king, my wife is the mother of my sons and of my daughters, one of whom thou hast given in marriage to thine own son. Why, then, dost thou wish me to marry thy daughter and to give up my wife whom I greatly love? I thank thee, O king, because thou hast thought me worthy to marry thy daughter; but I can do none of these things. Force it not on, then; there are other men who deserve thy daughter better; leave me to dwell with my wife in peace.' Then was Xerxes wroth and said, 'Well, Masistes, thou

IX. 109

110

- ix. shalt not marry my daughter nor keep thy wife,
that thou mayest know how to receive my gifts.’
Then Masistes answered only, ‘O king, thou hast
112 not yet ruined me.’ But, even while they
were talking, Amêstris had sent spearbearers to
fetch the wife of Masistes; and Amêstris mangled
her shamefully on her face and on her body and
113 then sent her home. Then Masistes, knowing
nothing of this, yet foreboding some evil, ran to
his house, and seeing his wife thus torn and
mangled took counsel with his sons and set out
to go to Baktra with his army, that thence he
might make war upon the king; and Xerxes,
hearing that he was gone, sent after him and slew
his brother with his children and all his army.
Thus fared it with the loves of King Xerxes.
- 114 At Lekton, the Greeks, who had set out from
Mykalê, were hindered for a while by winds from
sailing further; but afterwards they reached Aby-
dos, and found the bridges, for which they had
chiefly gone thither, unloosed and broken. And
upon this the Peloponnesians with Leotychides
resolved to sail away to Hellas; but the Athenians
under Xanthippos crossed over to the Chersonesos
and laid siege to Sestos, into which, as being the
strongest place in that land, Oiobazos, a Persian,
had brought the cables by which the bridges had
been fastened; and with him were many other
men besides the Æolians, whose the city was.

And the ruler of this country was Artaÿktes, a ix. 116 Persian, a daring and impious man, who cheated the king as he was going to Athens, and stole the treasures of Protesilaos the son of Iphiklos: for at Elaious in the Chersonesos is his tomb with its plot of holy ground, where were goblets of gold and silver and much brass, with garments and other offerings. So Artaÿktes came to the king and said, 'O king, there is here the house of a Greek who came against thy land and was slain, as he deserved. Give me this man's house, that others may learn hereafter not to come against thee.' Then Xerxes easily suffered him to take it, not knowing at all the meaning of his words, and that Protesilaos had come long ago into Asia to make war against the men of Troy; for Artaÿktes made Xerxes think that he had come against the Persians, because they hold that all Asia belongs only to the king. So he took the offerings and carried them away to Sestos, and ploughed up the sacred ground and profaned the holy place. And now the Athenians shut him up in Sestos unawares when he was not ready to endure a siege and thought not that the Greeks were coming. But the siege lasted long, and the autumn came; and the Athenians were vexed because they were kept away so long from home and could not take the wall. So they besought their leaders to take them home; but they answered that they would not go

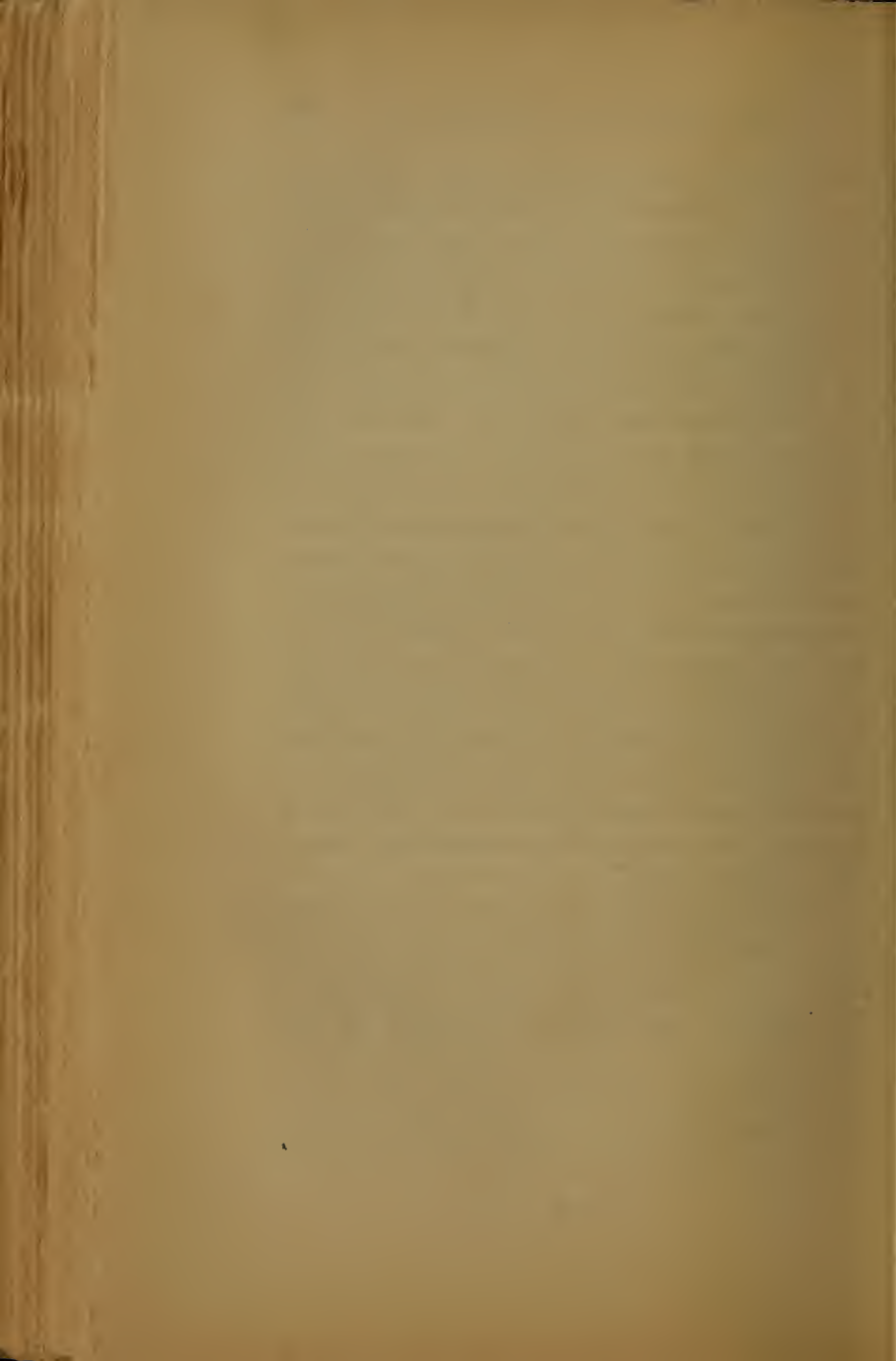
ix. until either they had destroyed Sestos or the Athenians should send for them.

118 But the men in the city were now so hard pressed by hunger and famine, that they boiled the ropes of their beds and ate them. And when they had no more left even of these, the Persians, with Artayktes and Oiobazos, fled by night, letting themselves down from the wall where it was least watched by the enemy. So when it was day, the men of the city told the Athenians by signs what had happened and opened their gates; and some of them held the city while the rest followed after the Persians.

119 Now Oiobazos had fled to Thrace; and there he was taken by the men of Apsinthos, who sacrificed him, after their manner, to Pleistôros, the god of that land; and the rest who were with him they slew in some other way. But Artayktes and his men set out later, and were caught a little way beyond Aigospotamoi. There they fought bravely for some time, and some were killed, while the rest, amongst whom were Artayktes and his son, were taken alive and carried in chains to Sestos. And the men of the Chersonesos say that a strange thing happened to one of the men who guarded Artayktes as he was roasting dried fish. These, as they lay on the fire, leaped and gasped like fishes newly caught. But, while all who stood round marvelled, Artayktes called to the man and said to

him, 'Fear not for this strange sight. It has not been sent for thee; but Protesilaos who dwells in Elaious gives me by this a sign that, though he is dead and his body wasted, he has power to punish the man that wrongs him. Now, therefore, I wish to make an atonement, and, in place of the offerings which I have taken from his temple, I will give a hundred talents to the god; and as a ransom for myself and my son, I will pay to the Athenians two hundred talents when they have set me free.' But for all his promises he could not prevail with their leader Xanthippos; for the men of Elaious, in order to avenge Protesilaos, demanded that he should be put to death, and this also Xanthippos was minded to do. So they brought him down to the sea-shore where Xerxes had fastened his bridge, or, as some say, to a hillock which is above the city of Madytos, and fastened him to some planks which they nailed together, after which they stoned his son to death before his eyes. ix.

When this was done, they sailed away to Hellas, 121 taking with them the booty together with the cable of the bridge, to be placed as offerings in the temples. And so the war ended for that year.



APPENDIX I.



ON THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION.

IF we may accept as substantially true and fair the picture which Perikles, in his great Funeral Oration,¹ draws of the political and social condition of Athens in his own days, we shall find it difficult indeed to avoid the conclusion that differences of time and place go for little or for nothing. All that is distinctive in English polity—its freedom of speech, the right of the people to govern themselves, the supremacy of the ordinary courts of law over all functionaries without exception, the practical restriction of state interference to the protection of person and property, the fair play given to the various tastes, fancies, prejudices, and caprices of individual citizens, may be seen in equal developement in the polity of Athens. Left to the full enjoyment of home life and of all that makes it graceful and valuable, not vexed by the eternal drill and worrying discipline of Sparta, her people were yet more ready than Spartans to sacrifice everything on her behalf, for the simple reason that they had much more to sacrifice, and met hardships and dangers as bravely and with greater coolness and wisdom than the Spartans ever attained with their incessant military routine.

¹ Thucyd. II. 35-46.

As we find it in the days of Perikles, the Athenian constitution, like our own, is a magnificent but a complicated fabric; nor is it possible, in the compass of a few sentences or a few pages, to do it the same justice which may be done to the comparatively rude and barbarous constitution of Sparta. The arbitrary action of an irresponsible board, with power to put citizens to death without a trial, the joint kingship of two sovereigns who are practically no more than commanders-in-chief of the army in time of war, the slight influence of an assembly which, although oligarchic to the core, was yet endowed with the scantiest powers, make up a state of things which has scarcely a feature in common with the absolute supremacy of the Athenian people, the infeasible right of every citizen to a full and fair trial, and with a law which invested every citizen with judicial functions, and made it not only his right and privilege, but his bounden duty, to take part in the great work of government.

But like the constitution of England, this full developement of Athenian democracy was the work of ages. It was no makeshift hastily adopted and modified at haphazard after the fashion of some European nations, who expel kings and queens and then sit down to meditate on the form of governments which may best suit their fancies or their interests. Like the English constitution, it was the fruit of long and arduous struggles, slowly ripened as the people awoke more and more to that consciousness of law and order which can only be fully awakened among a people who feel that the law which they obey is their own law, and that they obey it because it aims more and more at being in accordance with a justice and righteousness higher than that of man. Like the constitution of England at once in it

coherence and in its powers of adaptation to change of circumstances, it carries us back in the history of its growth to times of which we must candidly confess that we know little or perhaps know nothing: and we must on many matters be content either to suspend our judgment or to reason from signs which, as in the early history of English polity, seem to point to sufficiently probable conclusions. What the exact course of events may have been, or what may have been precisely the nature of the struggles which preceded the establishment of Athenian freedom, it would be rash to say positively. As in the long contests between the opposing orders in the Roman state, we cannot accept a narrative as historical merely because it is well defined in dates and details. A question is often settled only to be reopened again; and the sequel of a struggle has not unfrequently very little to do with the beginning.¹ In Athenian history it may at the least be said that the mists are not so thick as in that of Rome, and the evidence not so conflicting.

The undoubted existence down to the time of Kleisthenes (a period preceding only by a few years the battle of Marathon), of a subdivision by clans and houses carries us back almost to the earliest form of human society. Whatever may have been the meaning of the names which distinguished the four Attic tribes, Geleontes, Hoplètes, Aigikoreis, Argades, it cannot be doubted that the point of starting was from the house or family upwards, and not from the larger division downwards. We have here in fact the same growth as that of the

¹ Sir G. C. Lewis, *Credibility of Early Roman History*, ch. xii. section 55, and *passim*.

English families into tithings, hundreds, and shires, a division which preceded and survived the several kingdoms into which the country was from time to time divided. The principle which underlay this grouping was one of blood and of religion. It would take no reckoning of those who were not sprung from the same stock; and hence if the ninety Athenian gentes, grouped under their three Phratries, had under the titles of Trittyes and Naukrariai, a further political grouping which took in the whole country territorially, they still would not necessarily take in all the inhabitants of the land. All who could not share in the gentile sacrifices would be shut out; and the influx of strangers and foreigners would tend to swell a population to which the existing social and political order allowed no political rights. It was the growth of such a population which, owing to conflicts between the ruling classes, determined the form of Athenian democracy.

Speculation is probably thrown away on the origin of the tribal names whether of the Ionic or of other races.¹ If we are to follow the tradition, these names were by no means permanent. Among the titles which they are said to have borne in the days of King Kranaos, two, Mesogaia and Diakria, seem to be not less geographical than the titles Pediaioi, Paraloi, and Hyperakrioi (men of the plains, the sea-coast, and the hills) which Mr. Grote² regards as names of factions, but in which Niebuhr³ seems rather inclined to see an original triple division answering to the Ramnenses, Titienses, and

¹ Sir G. C. Lewis, *Credibility of Early Roman History*, ch. xiv. sect. 17.

² *History of Greece*, Part II. ch. xi.

³ *Lectures on Ancient History*, xxiv.

Luceres of ancient Rome. Similar difficulties baffle our efforts to determine the meaning of each particular name. According to Mr. Grote, the Argades are artisans ; in Niebuhr's judgment they are tillers of the ground. Mr. Grote holds that the Geleontes are the cultivators, while Niebuhr asserts that they formed the priestly class. It may be enough to mention the conjecture which traces this last name to an old verb γέλειν, meaning to shine, and sees in it a title corresponding to that of the Roman Luceres.

We are still on doubtful ground when we come to the story of the settlement of Athens as related by Thucydides, II. xv. The story is as plausible as that of Robinson Crusoe ; it really stands on precisely the level of the legend of Jack the Giant Killer, if we leave out all about Jack, the giant, and the bean. Of the Theseus who is said to have made Athens the seat of a central government which superseded the independent action of a set of wholly independent boroughs or cities, our knowledge comes only from the stories which tell us of his marvellous childhood, of the discovery of his father's arms under the great stone, of battle with the Minotauros and his stealing of Helen, the fatal sister of the Dioskouroi. Still, although we may not regard it as history, we are not free to say that no such change ever took place. It is far more likely that it did ; and the consolidation of the Attic Demi into a single state would answer to the gradual absorption of the several English kingdoms under the sovereignty of the chiefs of Wessex. At the least, we must note such legends as that of the Athenian Tellos who falls in a battle between the men of Athens and Eleusis ;¹ and more particularly the evidence of

¹ Herodotus, I. 30.

poems like the Hymn to Dêmêtêr, in which Eleusis is clearly still an independent state, and in which the Athenians take no part in the mysteries of the Great Mother.

Nor have we any clearer knowledge of the division of the people under the three titles of Eupatridai, Geômoroi, and Demiourgoi. But whatever may have been their relation to the four tribes, we may fairly accept the fact that the substantial power in the state was in the hands of the Eupatridai. The days of Kings, if ever there were kings in Attica (and the fact is in no way unlikely), were long since ended. The devotion of Kodros had made the title too sacred to be borne by any after him, as the tyranny of Tarquin had made it too horrible to be tolerated. After him there were, we are told, archons for life, then for ten years, and then the office was put into commission. Henceforth the Archon Eponymos, or the one who gave his name to the year, settled all disputes which arose from the relations of the family, the gens, or the phratry: the jurisdiction of the Archon Basileus embraced cases of homicide and religious offences; while the Archon Polemarchos settled all quarrels between citizens and non-citizens and had the command of the army in war. All other matters not restricted to these three were under the cognisance of the remaining six archons who were known as Thesmothetai, a name which may be interpreted by the Homeric phrase,

δικασπόλοι οἳ τε θέμιστας
πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται.

This oligarchical constitution had its Boulê or Council, which, after the appointment of a second council

by Solon, received the distinctive title of the senate of the Areiopagos. The whole course of Athenian history seems to attest the gradual restriction of the powers of this body, which continued to retain its jurisdiction in cases of homicide long after it had been deprived of its legislative and administrative functions. The basis of its power was distinctly religious, and the power itself was necessarily exercised inflexibly. It was not competent for the Areiopagos to draw distinctions between the guilt of one homicide and another : there could be but one doom for all who were adjudged guilty of the crime. Hence, if we give credit to the story, it was a movement in the way of lenity not of severity when Drakôn made the distinctions demanded by equity, and ordained that the court of the Ephetai, fifty-one in number, should sit in different places to adjudicate in different cases of homicide according to their complexion or to the plea urged by the criminal. But whether these Ephetai were in any or in all cases members of the Areiopagos, it is impossible to say. The hardness of the Drakonian laws has passed into a proverb ; but it is at the least possible that they may have been more merciful than those of still earlier times, and that the stigma put upon the lawgiver marks only the judgment of a later age.

Of the attempt of Kylôn to seize the acropolis it is unnecessary to say more than that its chief historical importance lies in the use made of it by the Spartans to counteract the influence of Perikles before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war.² It is as likely that a vain attempt to erect a despotism should have been

¹ Thucyd. i. cxxvii.

made by Kylon as that the exploit should have been achieved by Peisistratos.

The life of Solon shows us more clearly the actual condition of the people. If Drakôn did something to soften the indiscriminate severity of the Areiopagos, no heed was taken to the frightful sufferings of the classes who were excluded from all share in the government. Whether the men of the Plain, the Coast, and the Hills were so named as belonging to opposing factions, or whether they were not, the intestine disorder of the country can be doubted as little as the misery of the lowest ranks can be called into question. The system which tended to reduce English freemen to villenage was converting the Attic peasants into slaves. Arrears of rent or of produce payable to the owners of the soil, were changed into debts, for which the tenant was allowed by law to pledge his own body or the bodies of his sisters or his children. That the smaller tenures generally should be heavily mortgaged was a circumstance not very favourable to the real prosperity of the country; but this was as nothing compared with a practice which aimed at establishing and extending a servile class by the offer of loans which the lender well knew would never be repaid in money, and for which he sought no other repayment than the bodies of the borrowers. Such a state of things must speedily eat out the life of a nation; and a legislator, who had the welfare of the people at heart, could see in it only a plague to be suppressed at all hazards. Doubtless the debts incurred by the Thêtes or tenants were legitimate debts and the lenders were entitled to repayment. The repudiation of the debts must involve injustice to them; their maintenance would bring with it the destruction of the

whole people. The growth of discontent and rebellion had frightened the ruling class; and when Solon was invested with something like dictatorial power, he used it not to make himself despot, but to put an end to the mischief at once by introducing his *Seisachtheia*, a measure which annulled all mortgages on land in Attica, restored to freedom all debtors who had been reduced to slavery, provided the means for recovering such as had been sold into foreign countries, and more particularly struck at the root of the evil by prohibiting all security for loans on the body of the borrower or of his kinsfolk. The losses of the lenders, who may themselves have been indebted to others, were in some measure lessened or compensated by a depreciation of the currency.¹ The objections urged against these measures are sufficiently answered by the fact that the public credit was not shaken, and that it never again became necessary either to debase the money standard or to repudiate a debt.

But Solon did more than redress existing wrongs. The tribes, with their principle of religious association, still continued undisturbed; but a new classification was introduced which took in all the inhabitants of the land without reference to affinities of blood, and was based wholly on property. The *Pentakosiomedimnoi*, or men whose annual income was equal to 500 medimnoi (about 700 imperial bushels) of corn, the *Hippeis* who had from 300 to 500 medimnoi, and the *Zeugitai* who possessed from 200 to 300, paid a graduated income-tax. But only the members of the first class were eligible for

¹ For some remarks on the justice of these ordinances and the character of loans on which interest may be rightfully required see Grote, *History of Greece*, Part II. ch. xi.

the archonship and for all commands; the men of the next two classes might fill certain minor offices. Those of the fourth class, which comprehended all the remaining citizens (by far the largest body), were ineligible to any office, but were also free from all direct taxation. So far the Timocracy, for so it was termed by Aristotle, was in its tendency aristocratic: the more popular element was the share granted to the whole body of the citizens in the popular assembly, or Ekklesia, which had the right of choosing the Archons from among the men of the first class and of conducting the examination of magistrates at the end of their term of office. To Solon also may be attributed the creation of the Probouleutic assembly of the Four Hundred, chosen like the archons by the people from the Pentakosiomedimnoi.

The constitutional changes of Solon were not to bear fruit until the Athenian state itself had passed under the yoke of a despot. Happily the tyranny came and went without destroying the forms of the Solonian polity; and when the Peisistratidai were expelled, the tendency of that polity soon manifested itself. Solon had been content to supersede the tribal classification by one of property; Kleisthenes summarily swept away the four ancient tribes, and substituted in their place ten tribes entirely local in their character, and bearing the names of the great mythical personages of the land. These tribes were subdivided into demoi, which embraced the whole surface of Athens, and thus the whole body of the citizens received a compact political organisation.

The number of the Solonian council of Four Hundred was increased to Six Hundred, the members being probably chosen by lot; and in place of the single Polemarchos, ten Strategoi were chosen, one from each

tribe, who first shared and afterwards superseded his authority. We have, in fact, arrived at a time when the polity of Athens has become highly complex, a natural result of the great outburst of national life among the Athenian people. The whole body of citizens above thirty years of age was invested with judicial functions, and in the several courts into which they were divided discharged practically almost all the duties which had anciently belonged to the archons. As each tribe had its Strategos or general, so it contributed one to the number of the Apodektai, the responsible officers of the national exchequer. The fifty senators of each tribe, forming the council of the Five Hundred, presided in turn in the assembly during the ten Prytanies into which the year was divided, and the Epistates, or President of the Prytanes, had in his keeping for his single day of office the seal of the city and the keys of the Akropolis.

The constitution of Kleisthenes thus gave an enormous impulse to Athenian democracy. Every Athenian citizen could now feel that he had a share in the two great works of making and administering law. He found himself the member of assemblies whose life depended on freedom of speech ; and with the possession of this freedom the fabric of the Athenian constitution was virtually completed. It is true that by the reforms of Kleisthenes the citizens of the lowest class in the Solonian census were still held ineligible to individual office, although those of the second and third might become archons or strategoi. The deliberate rejection of the principle of exclusion was reserved for the days of Perikles. But important as were the changes or modifications introduced by the influence or with the ap-

proval of that most illustrious of Athenian statesmen, it is not necessary to specify them in a sketch which is designed simply to exhibit the general spirit of the Athenian polity and the education of the Athenian people.

Nowhere else in the ancient and in but a few portions of the modern world, has the sight been seen of a whole people taking part in the work of government, maintaining freedom of speech for all, and allowing exemption from its jurisdiction to none.

But, on the other side, we must set the fact that Athenian freedom was founded upon slavery.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE CONSTITUTION OF SPARTA.

THE Spartans, in relation to the inhabitants of the country generally, formed strictly an army of occupation, and their whole polity may be said to be founded on the discipline of such an army. In its earlier stages, the Spartan constitution, according to the accounts given of it, much resembled the constitution of the Achaians as described in the Iliad. Externally then, the Spartans occupied a position closely analogous to that of William the Conqueror and his Normans in England: internally they were governed by a close oligarchy. But the Spartan differed from the Achaian constitution, as given in the Iliad, in its peculiar feature of two co-ordinate

kings, both Herakleids, and referred, by way of explanation, to Eurysthenes and Prokles, the twin sons of Aristodemus. The kings certainly followed in the paths of their mythical progenitors, who had spent their lives in constant antagonism; but the Spartans may have patiently or cheerfully put up with these dissensions, as a security against any violent usurpation of despotic authority by either of the two. The power of the kings, whatever it may have been (and it certainly was far greater than that which they retained in the time of Herodotus), is said to have received some limitations from Lykourgos, to whom the Spartans attributed the establishment of the Gerousia, or Senate of twenty-eight old men (the whole number of the assembly being thirty, as the kings sat and voted with them), and also of the periodical popular assemblies, which were held in the open air. In these meetings the people were not allowed to discuss any measures, their functions being bounded to the mere acceptance or negation of the previous resolutions of the Gerousia. To this earlier constitution, according to Plutarch, two checks were added a century later in the reigns of the kings Polydoros and Theopompos, the first being the provision that the senate with the kings should have the power of reversing any 'crooked decisions' of the people, and the second the institution of a new executive board of five men, called Ephors (overseers or bishops). This board was elective; but of the mode of election little more can be said than that in the opinion of Aristotle it was exceedingly childish. It is certain, however, that they acquired, if they did not receive, powers which in the issue became paramount in the state. Nor can it be doubted that in its origin the

office was popular. By the oath interchanged every month, the kings swore that they would exercise their functions according to the established laws, while the ephors undertook on that condition to maintain their authority. This oath could have been instituted only at a time when the kings still possessed some independent power: it was retained long after the period when their authority became almost nominal as compared with that of the ephors, to whom they had become subordinate. The latter stood on so firm a basis that the ephors were enabled to exempt themselves during their year of office from the common discipline, while the kingly prerogative was cut down practically to the command of the Spartan armies in time of war. According to Herodotus, the kings had the right of declaring war at will: but this power was gradually usurped by the ephors, two of whom always accompanied the kings on military expeditions, thus still further tying their hands, even while they appeared to strengthen them by giving effect to their orders.

Still in their extensive domains, in their perquisites at sacrifices, in their power to vote in the senate by proxy, and more particularly in the religious feeling of the people, who saw in them the living representatives of Herakles, the kings enjoyed a position by means of which they could, as Agesilaos did, exercise great influence in state affairs. But when more impetuous and less prudent kings, like Agis III. and Kleomenes III. (B.C. 240-220) acted on the conviction that by the Lykourgean constitution the ephors were merely deputies of the king, it was seen not only that the contest was hopeless, but that that constitution had become a purely ideal one, and that the idea formed of it by one

mind might differ indefinitely from that which might be formed by another.

When we reach the times of contemporary historians, we find the population of Lakonia marked off into three classes, the Spartiatai, or full Spartan citizens, the Perioikoi, and the Helots. The distinctions between these classes severally are sufficiently clear; but it seems impossible to attain any certainty as to the mode in which they originated. The explanations given by Pausanias and Isokrates and other writers are inconsistent. In the age of Herodotus no distinction of race existed between the full Spartan citizen and the Perioikoi, while a large proportion of the Helots was also Dorian, if the fact that they were conquered Messenians gave them a claim to that title. We are therefore left to conjecture, when we seek for the reason why the Dorians of outlying districts did not share the privileges of the Spartans, and why certain other Dorians, with other inhabitants, whose very name of Helot we cannot account for, should have been reduced to the condition of villenage. The Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesos is shrouded in the mists of popular tradition; and when we reach the historical ages, we can but accept facts as we find them. These facts exhibit to us an oligarchical body filling towards the other inhabitants the relation of feudal lords to their dependents, supported entirely from their lands, and regarding all labour, whether mechanical or agricultural, as derogatory to their dignity. In their relations with one another, these lords were the soldiers of an army of occupation, and subjected as such to a severe military discipline. In fact, they retained their citizenship only on condition of submitting to this discipline and of

paying their quota to the Syssitia or public messes, which supplied the place of home life to the Spartans. Failure in either of these duties entailed disfranchisement; and it may be readily supposed that the multiplication of families too proud to labour, and even forbidden to labour, had its effect in producing a class of men who lost their franchise merely from inability to contribute to these Public Messes. These disfranchised citizens came to be known by the name Hypomeiones, or Inferiors, and answered closely to the 'mean whites' of the late slaveholding states of the American union. The full citizens were distinguished by the title of Homoioi, or Peers.

Thus while the oligarchic body of governing citizens was perpetually throwing off a number of landless and moneyless men, the condition of the Perioikoi, and even that of Helots, was by comparison gradually improving. The former carried on the various trades on which the Spartan looked with profound scorn; the latter, as cultivators of the soil, lost nothing by the increase of their numbers, while they differed altogether from the slaves of Athens or Thebes as being strictly 'adscripti glebæ,' and not liable to be sold out of the country, or perhaps even to be sold at all. They were the property not of individual owners, but of the state, which could at any time call upon them for military service, and which they frequently served in the capacity of heavy-armed troops.

Such a polity was not one to justify any great feeling of security on the part of the rulers; and we find accordingly that the Spartan government looked with constant anxiety to the classes which it regarded with an instinctive dread. The ephors could put Perioikoi

to death without trial; crowds of Helots sometimes disappeared for ever when their lives portended danger to the supremacy of the dominant class; and the Krypteia (if we reject the idea of deliberate annual massacres of the Helots) was yet a police institution by which young citizens were employed to carry out a system of espionage through the whole of Lakonia. But with all its faults the Spartan constitution fairly answered its purpose, and challenged the respect of the Hellenic world. In the belief of Herodotus, Sparta in times ancient even in his day, had been among the most disorderly of states; but since the reforms of Lykourgos, none had been better governed or more free from faction. The fixity of their political ideas and sentiments won for them the esteem of their fellow Hellenes, among whom changes were fast and frequent, while this esteem in its turn fed the pride of the Spartans, and inspired them with a temper as self-satisfied as that of the inhabitants of the Celestial empire, but far more arrogant and exclusive.

Yet the Spartan paid the penalty for the course which he deliberately adopted. His system produced excellent soldiers, but with rare exceptions no great generals or statesmen. Among them art and science found no home. There could be no free play of taste or fancy among men who were pinned down in a rigid system of rules, to be observed not in the spirit but in the letter. Their whole life was an everlasting drill; and they had their reward in producing good fighting machines, as the seminary system of the Roman Church produces machines admirably adapted to the purposes of ecclesiastical despotism. There is the same antagonism between the Spartan polity and that of Athens,

as between Teutonic and Latin Christianity; and this contrast forms the burden of the whole funeral oration of Perikles. The one exhibits 'the free spontaneous growth from which external checks are successively to give way before a deliberate submission to the principle of law;' the other scantily hides 'the rigid petrification which must be the result of a multiplication of arbitrary rules.'¹

APPENDIX III.

THE SPARTAN ARMY.

PITANÊ was one of the four Kômai, Villages or Demoi, into which the city of Sparta was divided, the other three being Limnai, Mesôa, and Kynosoura. But the existence of a Lochos bearing this name is denied by Thucydides, i. xx. 4; and this denial Dr. Arnold regards as 'in other words a denial of the demus of Pitane ever having been of sufficient importance to allow its inhabitants to form a constituent part of the national army; the military divisions in the old system of the Greeks, as well as of the Romans, corresponding entirely with the civil ones.' This last statement is denied by Mr. Grote, who speaks of the establishment of military divisions quite distinct from the civil divisions as 'a grand peculiarity, observable from the beginning, in the Lykourgean institutions.'² If we suppose that this fact

¹ Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1861, p. 346.

² History of Greece, part II. ch. viii.

was known to Thucydides, then his words would mean that no *Lochos* was named either from *Pitanê*, or from any other *demos*. Bishop Thirlwall suggests that as the six *Morai*, or larger divisions of the army, had reference to the six districts into which Lakonia was divided, and as each *Mora* was subdivided into four *Lochoi*, the four *Lochoi* for the district of Sparta may have been distributed on the same principle among the four *Demoi*, or boroughs, already named. These differences of opinion sufficiently show the intricacy of a subject for which our sources of information are very scanty.

But whatever may have been the basis of the division, the Spartan army was certainly divided into six *Morai*, and each of these into four *Lochoi*. Each *Lochos* in its turn was subdivided into two *Pentekostyes*, each *Pentekostys* finally being composed of two *Enomotiai*, or companies of men, bound together by a solemn oath. If each *Pentekostys* contained fifty men, the *Enomotia* must have had half that number; but this was not always the case, the numbers being given differently at twenty-five, thirty-two, or thirty-six. Hence the numbers in the *Lochos* and the *Mora* were also variable. These are the divisions as given by Xenophon; but at the battle of Mantinea there were, according to Thucydides,¹ seven *Lochoi*, each *Lochos* containing four *Pentekostyes* and each *Pentekostys* four *Enomotiai*. The *Pentekostys* had thus retained its original signification as little as the Latin *centuria*.

It must be remembered that these were divisions not for times of war only, but for the permanent classification of Spartan citizens during their whole life. Hero-

¹ v. lxxviii.

dotus¹ speaks of Enomotiai, Triakades, and Syssitia as the Lykourgean military divisions. Of the Syssitia we have already spoken (page 260): the Triakades are not mentioned elsewhere, and Mr. Grote says candidly that we cannot distinctly make out what they were. It is possible that each Enomotia, or each Pentykostys, may have constituted one of the Public Messes: but it is more important to notice that the lowest subdivision was employed as the great instrument for carrying on the Spartan military system. The drilling of these small bands of men was carried to high perfection, and enabled Spartan troops, if their order was broken in battle, to re-form with a celerity and precision not attained by other Hellenic states. That the Spartans were subjected to this perpetual drill was well known to Perikles, who, contrasting Athenian freedom with the rigid system of Sparta, tells his fellow-citizens that they have the great advantage of not being wearied out beforehand, and yet exhibiting in the hour of real danger quite as much bravery as those who were always worrying themselves in order to be ready for it.²

¹ I. lxxv.

² Thucydides, II. xl. 5.

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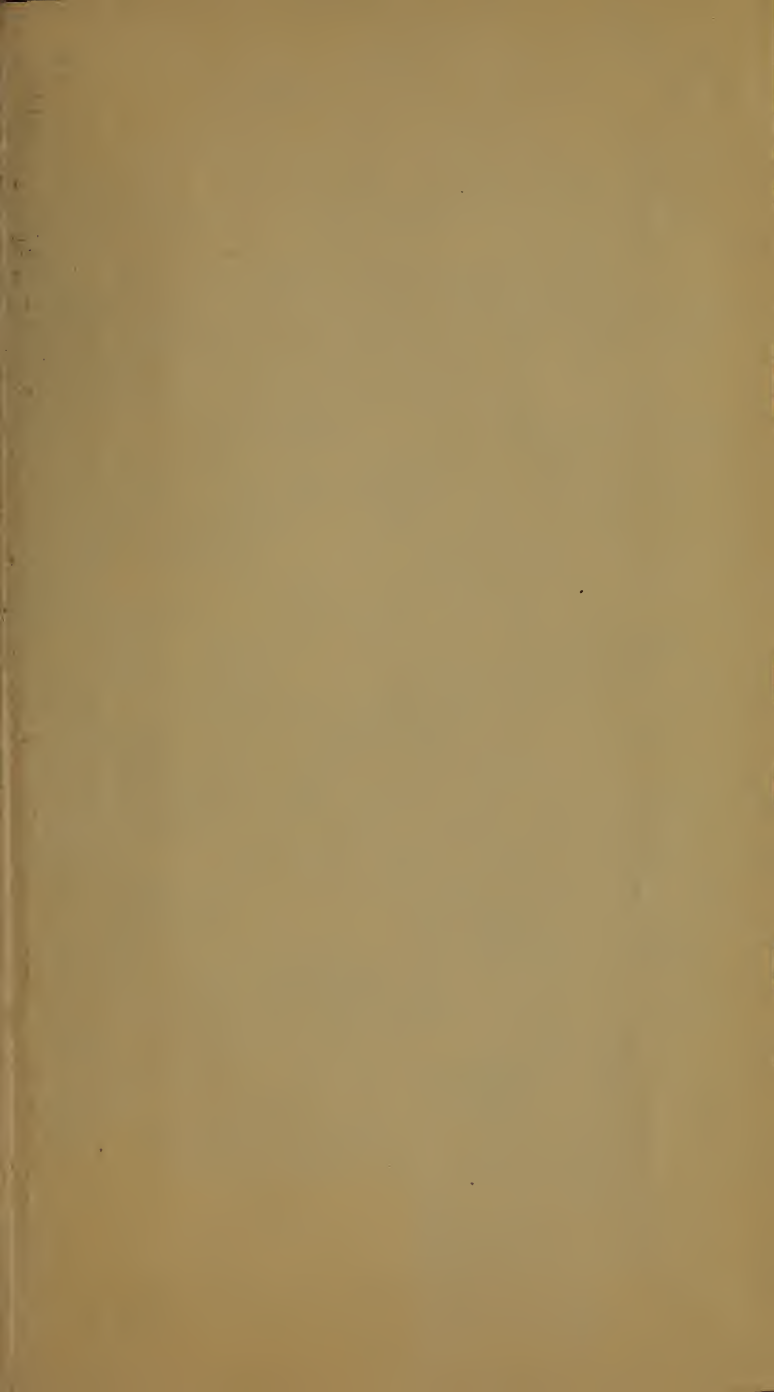
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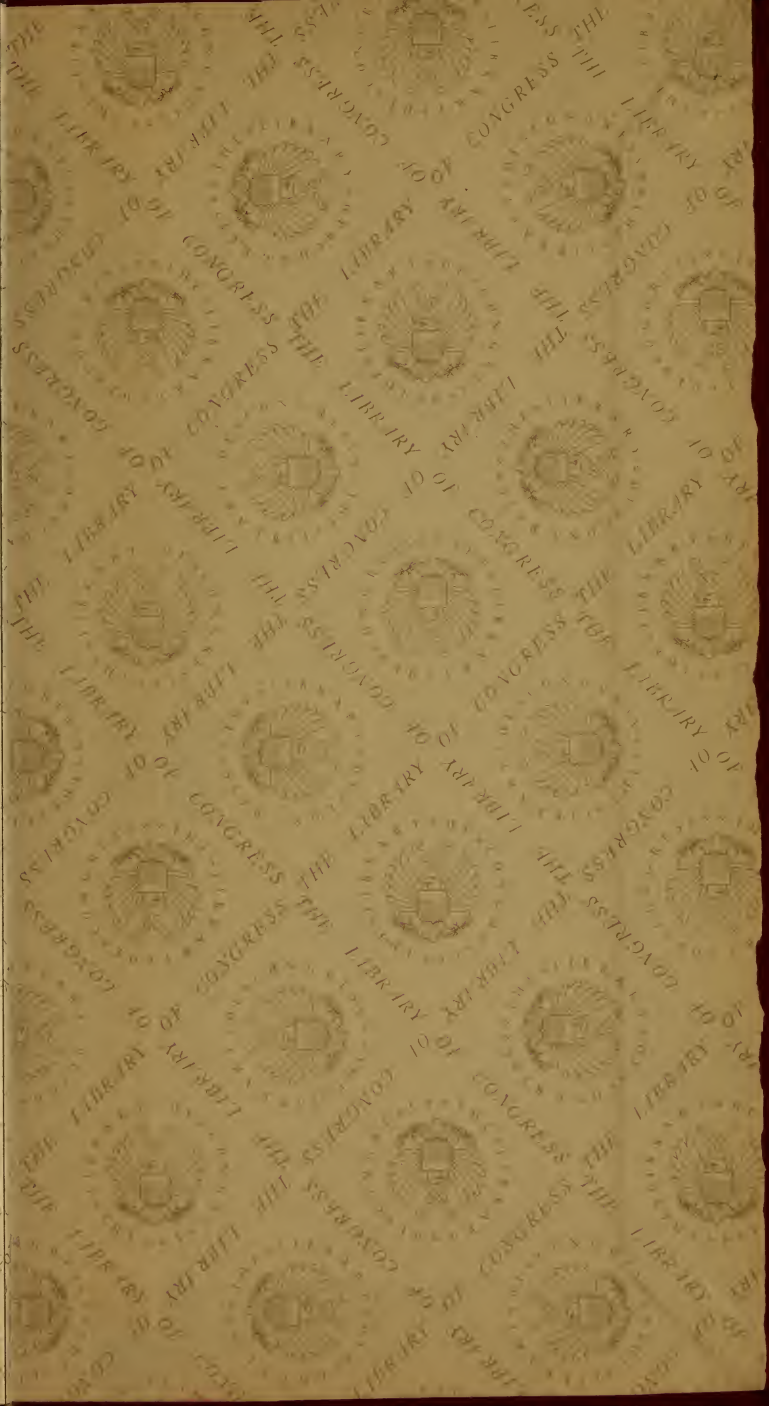
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